Daily Report

East Europe

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Hungary's Grosz Meets Pact Chiefs in Budapest

LD1805185989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1715 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Budapest, 18 May (TASS)—K. Grosz, the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], received here today the heads of the main political directorates of the armies of the Warsaw Pact states who are holding their meeting in Budapest. Army General A.D. Lizichev, head of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, informed him about the work of the meeting.

The MSZMP general secretary said that the MSZMP Central Committee recently formulated its point of view on the Warsaw Pact's modernization. According to his appraisal, the Warsaw Pact is fulfilling its purpose and guaranteeing the peace and security of the member states. However, the Politburo considers, in particular, that it is necesary to strengthen the political elements in the activities of the Warsaw Pact to develop internal democracy and to abolish formal features. The Politburo is in favor of the regular work of the special commission on disarmament and supports the Warsaw Pact in the fact that it is paying greater attention to other issues as well, including the issue of human rights and ecological protection.

F. Karpati, the Hungarian defense minister, was present at the meeting.

Pact Chiefs Session Ends

LD1905184889 Budapest MTI in English 1749 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 19 (MTI)—The three-day conference of the chiefs of political divisions of the armies of the Warsaw Treaty states ended on Friday in Budapest.

All leaders of the delegations discussed current issues of building and developing the armies, in connection with international military policy issues. Several delegation leaders stressed that comprehensive reforms are needed also in the army in the interest that they be able to serve the efforts to promote the radical renewal of the socialist social order. All delegations agreed that exchange of the experiences of common work continues to be necessary, and one of the forms for this can be a series of conferences similar to the now ended one.

The participants of the conference left Budapest on Friday.

Szonyi Speaks Following Moscow CEMA Session

LD1905042289 Budapest MTI in English 2034 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 18 (MTI)—Hungary's main effort is to renew bilateral economic relations, said Deputy Minister Dr Peter Szonyi, leader of the international economic cooperation office affiliated to the Hungarian Government, in Moscow.

Following the now ended session of the CEMA Executive Committee, Mr Szonyi said, with respect to the reform of the CEMA, that the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and, in part Bulgaria as well, represent similar positions. At the current session, the Hungarian side firmly noted the necessity of the market mechanism.

'The CEMA can be a good framework for many-sided cooperation, but not with the coordination of plan directives, but through the creatio of economic conditions,' Mr Szonyi stressed.

'Conflicting Views' at CEMA Executive Committee

AU1905145989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 May 89 p 7

["(ti)"-signed dispatch: "Search For Common Interests; CEMA Executive Committee Continues Its Session"]

[Excerpts] Moscow (By our reporter and CTK)—On Wednesday [17 May], the 2d day of its 131st session, the CEMA Executive Committee convened at CEMA Headquarters in Moscow. The Czechoslovak delegation to the committee session is led by Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier and Czechoslovakia's permanent CEMA representative. [passage omitted]

On the first day of the Executive Committee's session, the individual representatives presented their frequently conflicting views on the issues on the session agenda. This is nothing unusual. In fact, the individual member countries have different standards of industrial development and also have their own ideas on how their economies should develop. Understandably, the problems of some countries can seem trivial to others. That is why one cannot avoid such formulations as "interested countries" in the final documents which are being prepared by the editorial commissions.

In fact, this does not contradict the community's statutes. Still, in certain matters the unity of opinion is essential. This primarily applies to a transformation of the present mechanism of cooperation within the CEMA. Everybody realizes that in its present form, it does not and cannot fulfill all of the functions which the community expects it to fulfill. However, the common views on the kind of changes that should be carried out, and where one should start, are few.

For instance, some believe that each member country should build—either by itself, or with the aid of such supranational organizations as the International Monetary Fund—its own balanced economy with a balanced market, and provide external currency stability for it; and that then one could set up a community of countries with concurrent interests. Others recommend the road of gradual steps, which should lead to a rapprochement of interests. This view is counting on opportunities which could be utilized immediately—in other words, it counts on developing the existing advantages already offered by the community today.

NATO Leader Cited on Military Doctrine

LD1505223589 Budapest MTI in English
2017 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 15 (MTI)—NATO General Secretary Manfred Woerner discussed the missile modernization programme that currently divides NATO, and the organization's military doctrine, in an interview with Hungarian television's foreign affairs programme "Panorama", which aired on Monday evening.

Mr Woerner said he holds it his personal task to promote that a compromise is reached in the affair of missile modernization, however, he cannot at present discuss the solution. He stressed: In the interest of protecting its interests, NATO should, on the one hand, safeguard the efficiency of its defence, on the other hand, NATO does not reject negotiations. Opportunities exist to overcome the differences in views between the member countries, as we have always done in the past, Mr Woerner said.

Discussing the military doctrine of NATO and the new policy of the Soviet Union, Mr Woerner noted: The military doctrine of NATO has never had an attacking nature, NATO has always maintained smaller armed forces than the Soviet Union. The statistics of the Warsaw Treaty also justify this. Why then should the doctrine be changed now, Mr Woerner asked? He then added: The Soviet Union is begining to reduce its prevalent military potential, a step that we welcome. At the same time, NATO unilaterally eliminated 2,400 nuclear weapons. Our goal continues to be to hold the level of weapons on an identical, low level on both sides. There is a basic principle: One who has more has to cut back more. At present, the Soviet Union has considerably more weapons, thus it has to eliminate more as well.

With respect to the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles, I should first like to note: Hungary need not fear NATO, and the Hungarians are aware of this. The threats to Hungary have not started from NATO, or the West to date. It is not necessary for me to be more clear on this subject, the general secretary added. The Soviet Union has 16 times more short-range nuclear weapons than NATO, and it has just completed the modernization of its nuclear weapons. Why would it then be bad for the West to do the same as the Soviet Union? Incidentally, Mr Woerner continued, political and economic relations between the eastern and western parts of europe show a powerful development. If political tensions are successfully eased, or eliminated, then the armed forces lose their earlier significance, and this will have a positive effect also on the role of the military alliances. Although the weapons will be more modern, they will number less. We believe this is the aim of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty as well, Mr Woerner said.

Limit on Troops Suggested in Vienna Talks

LD1805223989 Prague CTK in English
1800 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Vienna May 18 (CTK correspondent)—The need for determining the upper limit not only for military technology, but also for the number of troops, was stressed by head of the Czechoslovak delegation Ladislav Balcar at talks on conventional forces here today.

We consider it necessary not only to talk about this category, but also to give its reduction and elimination a concrete appearance, he said. We think that reductions of military personnel cannot be left only to some automatic mechanism, he stated adding that on one hand, NATO countries say that armament reductions will inevitably lead to reductions of personnel, on the other hand, they do not want to do so by means of reducing the number of troops by firm upper limits.

If the upper limit for troops is not set, it can lead to the forming of a new asymmetry and destabilization effects, Ladislav Balcar stated.

UN Representative Replies to SFRY on Kosovo

AU2005123689 Tirana ATA in English
0948 GMT 20 May 89

["Yugoslavia Brought the Anti-Albanian Campaign Forward at the UN Organs"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 20 (ATA)—In order to deceive the public opinion with regard to the tragic events in Kosovo, and in order to slander against the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, the Yugoslav authorities chose also the United Nations Organisation rostrum. In the debate on the question of human rights at the UN Social Committee of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), which wound up its proceedings in New York at the sitting of May 18 1989, Yugoslavia's representative, Slobodan Kotevski, taking the floor at this commission, accused the PSR of Albania of allegedly violating the rights of the minorities and particularly of the Slav minorities in Albania. Likewise, he launched attacks against the Albanian people and reiterated the well-known slanders on the alleged Albania's interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, even accusing it of being responsible for the tragic events in Kosovo. He claimed that Yugoslavia has arranged the status of the rights of the national minorities according to the norms of the international law, emphasizing that some nationalities, such as the Albanians in Yugoslavia, have many rights, which, according to him, represent a unique example in the world.

In reply to the speech of the Yugoslav representative in the Social Committee of Ecosoc of the UN, the floor was taken also by the permanent representative of the PSR of Albania to the United Nations, Bashkim Pitarka. He said among others:

Everyone would think that Yugoslavia's delegation would be the last to boast of the alleged defence of nationalities and national minorities, the less so to accuse the others when the whole world is witnessing what is happening in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. The tragic events that occurred in February and March this year in Kosovo, when dozens upon dozens of peaceful demonstrators, including also children, were murdered and wounded, the dispatch against them of tanks, armoured vehicles, and airplanes, the use of tear gas, the mass campaign of arrests, have upset the whole international public opinion, including the Yugoslav one as well, who have sternly condemned it.

The Yugoslav delegate's claims and slanders are not something new in the Yugoslav propaganda campaign, which has long since been engaged in a chauvinistic wave against Albania and the Albanians. Now even the question of the Slav minority is turned into a pretext of attacks not only against Albania, but against the other neighbours as well. It is not occasional that it is Yugoslavia which has problems with and complains of all its neighbours.

In Albania we have no problem with the national minorities. It is true that there exists a small Slav minority, which lives in some villages in the southeastern zone of the country, which enjoys all the rights and freedoms belonging to it, the language, the schools in the mother tongue and cultivates its own traditions. To this testify the statements made even by personalities and representatives of the Yugoslav Government itself during and after the visits they have paid to the villages this minority lives in. Neither tanks nor violence are used in our country against the minorities. The Constitution guarantees to the minorities equal development just as the whole country's population.

Further on, Bashkim Pitarka said that the Yugoslav representative groundlessly and with provocative intention spoke of so-called Albania's interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia regarding the events in Kosovo. The Albanian delegation resolutely turns down these absurd charges. No one in the world, even the sound Yugoslav public opinion, believes in such an interference. Slanders are part of the Yugoslav campaign to save its countenance and to conceal the real causes and culprits, to justify as well the dispatch of tanks and bloodshed in Kosovo and the curbing of its autonomy. The real situation in Kosovo and what is happening there is reflected in the numerous articles, writings and statements of world mass media, including the Yugoslav ones, which tell a lie to their claims and boasts on the so-called all-sided rights the Albanians in Yugoslavia enjoy.

We have stated and reiterate that the problems of Kosovo are not solved seeking those responsible for them outside Yugoslavia. This is not the road to remedy the situation, but wisdom and political realism, democratic and constructive dialogue with the Albanian population of Kosovo are needed. Roads and solutions acceptable to all, even for the Albanians, must be found by observing the legitimate rights and democratic and national freedoms.

Talyzin-Led Soviet Economic Delegation Visits

Atanasov Receives Talyzin

AU1905191789 Sofia BTA in English
1701 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 19 (BTA)—Important matters of bilateral economic teamwork are on the agenda of the intersession meeting which the intergovernmental Bulgaro-Soviet Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation opened here today. The delegations are headed by the co-chairmen of the commission Mr Andrey Lukanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and minister of foreign economic relations, and Mr Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU and vice chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. The sides had a thoroughgoing exchange of views on four groups of questions: the promotion of commercial exchanges, cooperation in the field of raw materials and energy, scientific and technological interaction and the improvement of cooperation mechanisms and forms in the conditions of the Bulgarian and the Soviet economic reforms.

The participants also considered projects for the promotion of cooperation in electronics, the motor industry, the manufacturing of light and food industry machines and of industrial consumer goods.

Today Mr Nikolay Talyzin was received by Mr Georgi Atanasov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria. They considered the progress of the coordination of the two countries' economic development plans for the 1991-1995 period and paid particular attention to specialisation and cooperation. Discussing the state of the bilateral trade exchanges and the opportunities for their increase, the sides stressed the need for a wider and more varied product mix of exports and of changing their composition.

It was ascertained at the meeting that the new forms of interaction: joint enterprises, joint investment and direct intercompany contacts help invigorate Bulgaro-Soviet economic and techno-scientific cooperation.

Zhivkov Receives Talyzin

AU2005212789 Sofia BTA in English
1734 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 20 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP [Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, today received Mr Nikolay Talyzin, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, who is co-chairman of the Soviet-Bulgarian Committee of Economic and Sci-Technical Cooperation.

Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, and Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, were also present at the meeting.

The Bulgarian party and state leader was briefed on the results of the inter-session working meeting on the main lines of the further development of bilateral economic and sci-technical cooperation in the 1991-1995 period. It was pointed out that there are real conditions for a dynamic increase of the turnover between the two countries and for its structural improvement by extending specialization and cooperation and promoting accelerated technological. The basis for this process is provided by the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic and Sci-Technical Cooperation Between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union Up to the Year 2000 signed by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

Besides stepping up the pace of mutually balanced deliveries of raw materials and energy resources, a considerable increase of the proportion of the products of mechanical engineering and electronics, consumer goods, complete projects and technological equipment is envisaged.

It was pointed out with satisfaction that agreements were reached and important documents on the cooperation in electronics, the production of cars and technical household appliances would be shortly signed. It was underlined that making use of the existing substantial reserves for the growth of the turnover is closely related to the important changes in the mechanisms of bilateral economic ties and multilateral cooperation within the CMEA.

Satisfaction was expressed with the widened scope of the direct cooperation between Bulgarian and Soviet economic organizations, the establishment of cooperatives and joint enterprises.

At the meeting information was exchanged on the development of restructuring in all spheres of social life in the two countries. It was pointed out that the common principles and goals Bulgaria and the Soviet Union share in the process of innovation open up qualitatively new possibilities for strengthening friendship and promoting cooperation between the peoples of the two countries.

Lukanov, Talyzin End Talks

AU2005212889 Sofia BTA in English
1844 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 20 (BTA)—Important questions of the economic and sci-technical cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in the 1991-1995 period were discussed here at the inter-session working meeting of the Bulgaro-Soviet Committee of Economic and Sci-Technical Cooperation.

Today the co-chairmen of the committee, Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, and Mr Nikolay Talyzin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, signed a memorandum of the meeting. The document outlines the main guidelines for the further development of specialization, the establishment of cooperatives and sci-technical cooperation, for the extension and the structural improvement of the turnover, cooperation in the field of energy and raw materials, for the improvement of the economic mechanism and the new forms of economic interaction.

At the meeting the two sides exchanged detailed information about the most important tasks to be carried out by the national economies of the two countries in this period in the conditions of restructuring in the economy. It was pointed out that the concept of scientific, technological and economic cooperation that has been worked out for the period up to the year 2005 is to be made use of by the competent ministries, departments and organizations for coordinating the 1991-1995 plans of the two countries.

Zhivkov Chairs Council Meeting, Decree Adopted
AU1905182489 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 19 (BTA)—At a meeting today chaired by its President Mr Todor Zhivkov, the State Council of Bulgaria considered and endorsed a draft decree on land use and farm organization submitted by the Council of Ministers.

Agriculture work will be organized, basically, through collective farms built as voluntary, self-enterprising and self-managing organizations of farm workers. Along with collective farms, there will be family- and individually-run farms. Agricultural work can be done by all companies irrespective of their principal line of business.

A stable legal framework is laid down for the utilization, depending on the specific requirements, of the piecework system, land lease and other forms of land use in farm operations.

Opportunities are provided for the association of farm workers on the basis of their shared interests and common tasks in the production, processing and marketing of farm produce, in the establishment of agricultural commodity exchanges, in the joint acquisition and use of machines, in amelioration, marketing and supply.

The state and the state bodies will be regulating the development of production using exclusively economic levers. Municipal commissions and a central commission will be set up to take charge of land regulation. The municipal commissions will be vested with broad decision-making powers on the most important questions concerning the efficient use of the land consistent with the requirements of the respective territory and with the character of its land plots and pastures.

Zhivkov Salutes LCY's Pancevski on Election
AU2205103289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 May 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], has sent a message to Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists [LCY], in which he sends him most cordial greetings on his election to this responsible post.

We wish you, the LCY leadership, and all Yugoslav Communists fruitful results in renewing the party and socialist society, the message reads.

Deep confidence is expressed that the present dynamic development of the dialogue between the BCP and the LCY will continue to contribute to further constructing good-neighborly and friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between the two countries and peoples, for strengthening peace in the Balkans.

Death of BCP Candidate Member Kolev Reported
AU1905105689

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 18 May on page 6 carries a 300-word obituary, signed by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), on the death on 16 May "after a short illness" of Aleksandur Vladimirov Kolev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, born 19 September 1938. The obituary briefly reviews Kolev's party career, spent mainly in the town of Kurdzhali. No leaders are noted to have signed the obituary.

Friendship Society With Albania Established
AU1905171289 Sofia BTA in English 1609 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 19 (BTA)—The principal objective of the Bulgaro-Albanian Friendship Society which was established here will be to assist the promotion of friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Albania.

Mr Ivan Prumov, member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], was elected president of the society.

In Bulgaria, there are 36 societies for friendship with various countries of the world.

Further Reportage on Visit by Romania's Ceausescu

Jakes Speaks at Luncheon

AU2205081689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 May 89 p 2

["Speech" by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, at a gala luncheon for Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Prague on 17 May]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, dear Romanian friends; permit me once again to most cordially greet and welcome you to the CSSR capital of Prague on behalf of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], all comrades present here, and on my own behalf.

We have always attached great importance to our bilateral meetings, which have become a good tradition. They yield stimuli for the further development of relations between our countries and for improving cooperation in all spheres of social life. They contribute to the strengthening of the traditional friendship between the Czechoslovak and Romanian people, which has further intensified in the common struggle for national and social liberation, in the struggle for the victory and development of socialism in our countries. The close cooperation of our communist parties is the guarantee of this traditional friendship.

Recently we commemorated the 44th anniversary of the defeat of Hitlerite fascism, which made it possible for our two countries, in harmony with the wishes of the people, to carry out profound popular democratic changes and embark upon the path of socialist construction. The results, which are being achieved by the Romanian working people under the leadership of their Communist Party in building socialism, elicit vivid interest in Czechoslovakia. We follow with great interest the Romanian working people's endeavor to realize the conclusions of the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], to develop activity before its upcoming 14th Congress.

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, your friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia is taking place at the time when our parties are striving to further improve socialism, to increase the attractiveness of the socialist social order, and make the full use of its advantages. We proceed from the view that each fraternal party is responsible to the people of its country and chooses, on the basis of creative application of Marxist-Leninist ideas, the path of society's development which corresponds to its traditions, specific conditions, and needs. In this respect our party attaches great importance to making use of the experience of the international communist and workers movement. We are fully aware also of our international responsibility and the identity of objectives which we pursue together with the other fraternal Communist and workers parties and countries.

In Czechoslovakia, proceeding from our needs, we have embarked—on the CPCZ initiative—onto the path of economic and social restructuring in the interest of accelerating the social and economic development of society, and elevating it to a qualitatively higher level. To achieve this it is necessary to deepen socialist democracy, increase people's participation in the management of all spheres of society's life, and perfect the work of the party. The CPSU's course aimed at a revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society is the source of inspiration and learning. We are following with attention and making use of the findings and approaches of the other fraternal socialist countries.

The Czechoslovak Communists, the entire National Front, the absolute majority of the people support restructuring and democratization. They see in them the way to successfully master the new tasks which our society faces, to resolutely overcome problems and shortcomings which retard faster advancement. This effort also is the content of the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, which will be held in May next year.

Comrades, I can state with satisfaction that our talks today with Comrade Ceausescu were held in the spirit of socialist internationalism, mutual understanding, identity of views on the assessment of the level of and prospects for the development of Czechoslovak-Romanian relations.

The balance sheet of bilateral relations after our previous meeting in Bucharest in April 1988 is, on the whole, favorable. The exacting demands of the present and common objectives require that we make even fuller use of all opportunities to develop comprehensive, mutually advantageous cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical, ideological, cultural, and other spheres. As it came out of our talks, this requires us to realize more actively and with greater initiative the jointly agreed on measures, with greater determination to apply new and more effective methods of mutual cooperation and overcome the existing barriers.

In the first place, this concerns cooperation in the economic and scientific-technical spheres. We see the main path to this as being the extensive utilization of higher forms of cooperation, especially in intensifying cooperation and specialization, in establishing direct relations among economic and scientific research organizations, and in setting up joint ventures, including activities in third markets.

Effective bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation makes it possible to make better use of the economic potential of our countries and to correctly direct its further development. This also applies to the

intensification of cooperation within the CEMA framework. In perfecting the activity of that organization, in developing socialist economic integration and division of labor so that it reaches the level required by the present, our party sees one of the key prerequisites for the more efficient functioning of the economies of the individual CEMA member-countries and of our community as a whole, for the gradual creation of a single socialist market while respecting the interests of the individual countries.

Comrades, during our talks we paid considerable attention to the fundamental issues of the current developments in the world, the struggle for peace, and the strengthening of international security.

We regard the ongoing visit by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev to the PRC and his talks with the highest Chinese representatives as an event of far-reaching significance. We are convinced that the results of those talks, which constitute the full normalization of relations between the two countries both on the state and the party level, will strengthen the position of socialism, security, and peace in the world.

We fully identify with the dynamic foreign political course of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the spirit of new political thinking, which yields positive results. It reflects the strengthening trend to make a transition from confrontation to dialogue, and the deepening endeavor to increase trust and expand cooperation between East and West. We welcomed the announced resumption of talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons. We support the new initiatives which the Soviet Union has submitted at the Vienna talks on the reduction conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe. We expect that these proposals will meet with a positive response on part of the NATO countries.

Both Czechoslovakia and Romania are taking an active part in the coordinated foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact states. They pursue the establishment of relations of trust and cooperation in the world and their regions—in central Europe and the Balkan peninsula. We highly value the endeavor which the Socialist Republic of Romania has been intensively developing in that respect. Czechoslovakia, too, has come forward with several specific steps and initiatives. Like the other socialist countries, we too have unilaterally reduced the numerical strength of our troops and the Army's equipment. Our initiative aimed at establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO remains topical. Also, our attempts to resolve ecological problems in central Europe together with the neighboring states is oriented toward strengthening trust.

We are aware that the process of improving international relations, of achieving further progress in disarmament, and of resolving global problems and regional conflicts which are plaguing mankind will still require great efforts. Czechoslovakia and its people will continue in this struggle to stand firmly on the side of peace-loving, democratic, progressive, and realistic forces of the whole world.

Estemeed comrades, dear friends: In conclusion I would like to again express my satisfaction with the results of our talks with Comrade Ceausescu and of the talks conducted by other members of the delegations, and to express the conviction that they will constitute further progress on the road of strengthening Czechoslovak-Romanian friendship, and intensifying our fraternal cooperation for the benefit of the nations of the two countries and the cause of socialism, progress, and peace in the world.

I toast:

—To new successes of the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian people in the construction of socialism;
—To the further development of Czechoslovak-Romanian friendship and cooperation;
—To the health of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania;
—To the health of all present here.

Ceausescu Toasts Jakes

AU2105195189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 May 89 p 2

["Speech" by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at a gala luncheon in his honor in Prague on 17 May]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Jakes, esteemed Comrade Husak, dear comrades and friends: First, I would like to thank you for the cordial greetings and the hospitable reception accorded to us in the capital of friendly Czechoslovakia. I also thank you for the words of appreciation and good wishes addressed to our party, nation, and to me personally.

Our present visit to Czechoslovakia, although very brief, is the expression of the growing development occurring in the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and nations; it is a new contribution to their further development. We highly value the traditional Romanian-Czechoslovak relations and in the future wish to do everything for their constant development in all spheres, so that these relations will serve as an example of permanent relations between friendly socialist countries which are pooling their efforts and actively collaborating in building a new order, for socialism and peace in the world. During the talks which we held this

morning, we spoke about the work and tasks of our parties and nations in socialist construction in our two countries. Within the framework of new dialogue we noted with satisfaction that the conclusions adopted earlier are being successfully implemented for the benefit of our nations. Proceeding from the long-term agreements which we have concluded—in some spheres through the year 2000—we agreed to intensify our activity in the direction of expanding cooperation, production collaboration, and specialization in various spheres of common interest. Our opinion is that on the basis of the ever increasing potential of our countries, there exist real possibilities to achieve an even more intensive development of economic, scientific-technical, and cultural exchanges, as well as of exchanges in other spheres.

We are informed about and value the results which the friendly Czechoslovak people have been achieving under the leadership of their Communist Party in social and economic development, in implementing the important tasks determined by the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], and wish you new and ever greater successes in developing Czechoslovak society in all spheres.

The Romanian people, too, are committing all their energy to implementing the tasks of the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], which will ensure Romania's transition to a new stage, that of a medium developed country. We attach exceptional importance to intensive development and modernization of production, growth of labor productivity, and improved product quality. We strive for a firm application of a new economic mechanism, workers' self-management, and economic and financial accountability, and for constant strengthening of socialist, state, and cooperative ownership. We attach great importance to expanding and perfecting the organisms of our workers' revolutionary democracy, strengthening their collaboration in all spheres, as a higher form, which fully ensures active participation by all citizens and by all working people in managing society, in implementing the country's development plans, and in realizing the fundamental principle of the construction of socialism with the people and for the people.

Eliminating forever the classes of exploiters and implementing at all times the principles of scientific socialism, our nation has been working in a fully united way and is creating for itself, of its own free will and consciously, without oppressors, a successful and happy future.

The recent session of the RCP Central Committee adopted an exceptionally important decision for the preparation of the 14th party congress, which will determine our country's new revolutionary perspective through the year 2000 and for the first decades of the third millenium, which Romania will enter as a socialist, comprehensively developed country with developed economic, scientific, and cultural muscle and with a high material and intellectual living standard. The fact that Romania paid back its entire foreign debt at the end of March 1989, which constitutes a great victory and is an expression of the strength of its national economy elicited among our working people and among the entire nation justified patriotic pride and great enthusiasm to work.

The international situation continues to be very complex, contradictory, and serious. The realization of some agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States on eliminating nuclear intermediate-range missiles and deciding to resolve some problems by negotiation has given certain hopes to mankind. Despite that a period of stagnation, and even retreat, followed and continues after the realization of those agreements. The reactivation of the nuclear arms race is under way. NATO actively discusses the modernization of nuclear short-range weapons and tactical weapons, a matter which—should it be carried out—would totally vitiate the results of the elimination of the intermediate-range missiles and, moreover, would lead to an additional growth of nuclear potential compared with the potential that existed prior to the conclusion of the Soviet-American treaty. Nuclear tests continue and activities aimed at the militarization of space are being expanded. All this seriously endangers the peace and security of all nations. Under these circumstances, moving toward disarmament is today a vital requirement for the future and life of all mankind. It is of great importance that the nations of Europe and of the whole world become involved in actions and steadfast struggle against the modernization of tactical weapons and short-range missiles, for starting talks on a total elimination of those weapons, and for concluding an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

At the same time it is necessary that all nations of Europe strive to eliminate chemical weapons and to radically reduce conventional armament and military expenditure under stringent international control.

Romania is determined to do everything to contribute to the development of broad economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation among all European countries, to a united Europe of peace and cooperation, to a strong Europe of free and independent nations, and to a Europe of progress, prosperity, and peace.

We will determinedly strive for the broad development of cooperation among all Balkan countries and for establishi..g a zone without nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign military bases, a zone of peaceful cooperation, as a part of the equal collaboration among all nations of Europe and throughout the world.

We are in favor of resolving contentious issues between states through negotiations, of eliminating backwardness and establishing a new world economic order, of strengthening the role of the United Nations, and of democratizing international relations.

Romania, true to its policy, will always firmly pursue the development of cooperation with all socialist countries, the consolidation of their unity and solidarity, and their joint course for development on the basis of scientific socialism. We are also determined to actively contribute in the future to the development and perfection of collaboration within the CEMA framework in order to develop all countries and consolidate the strength of socialism in general.

At the same time, we are expanding cooperation both with the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We are firmly determined to play an active part in the international division of labor, closely cooperate with all peace-loving and progressive forces to fully contribute to solving problems confronting the contemporary world, and assert the policy of disarmament, relaxation, cooperation, independence, security, and peace.

Consistently striving to expand cooperation with all states, Romania will firmly base those relations on principles of full equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, renouncement of force and threatening with force, and respect for the inalienable right of every nation to develop itself freely and independently without any outside interference.

We attach exceptional importance to strengthening relations with the communist and workers parties, with socialist and social democratic parties, and other democratic parties, and our opinion is that their solidarity and cooperation are of great importance in the current international situation.

As never before, today it is necessary to unite the endeavor of all nations and all progressive forces, with the aim of putting an end to the old policies and asserting the new policy of disarmament and peace, of a better and more just world.

I would like to express once more satisfaction with the results of the talks with Comrade Jakes and Comrade Husak and, at the same time, the conviction that this visit and agreements at which we will arrive will become inscribed as a new, important moment in the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries, parties, and nations, and that they will contribute to the general cause of socialism, progress, and peace throughout the world.

With this conviction, I would like to toast:

To new successes of the friendly Czechoslovak people in the construction of socialism under the CPCZ's leadership;
To a systematic strengthening of Romanian-Czechoslovak friendship and cooperation;
To the health of Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee;
To the health of Comrade Gustav Husak, CSSR president;
To the health of all of you, to peace and cooperation throughout the world.

Husak Receives Award

AU2005150589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 May 89 p 2

[CTK report: "A Meeting With G. Husak"]

[Text] Shortly after 1430 Nicolae Ceausescu arrived at Prague Castle. Gustav Husak cordially welcomed him in the third palace courtyard.

After the national anthems of both countries, the most senior Romanian representative received a report from the commander of the unit of honor of the Castle Guard and, with the president of the CSSR, trooped the colors.

Gustav Husak then received Nicolae Ceausescu in Prague Castle.

Jozef Lenart, Karel Julis, and Frantisek Salda participated in the reception. Ion Dinca and Ion Stoian were present from the Romanian side.

During the course of a friendly conversation, both statesmen appraised the level of Czechoslovak-Romanian relations and emphasized bilateral interest in continuing to expand and intensify collaboration in all spheres. At the same time, they referred to the significance of the exchange of experiences from socialist construction at various levels and to the advantage of the more intensive and broader implementation of effective forms of economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the fulfillment and realization of the comprehensive program through the year 2000.

In an evaluation of contemporary international events, the concurrence of views on basic problems was confirmed and the resolve of both states was expressed to actively participate in the effort to preserve a lasting peace and security in Europe and the world. During the course of the meeting, Nicolae Ceausescu conferred the Order of the Victory of Socialism upon Gustav Husak, which was awarded to him for his outstanding personal contribution to the development of friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and the Romanian Socialist Republic [SR] and to the strengthening of fraternal ties between the people of both countries.

Milos Jakes, Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Karel Urbanek, Vladimir Herman, Frantisek Hanus, Josef Mevald, Rudolf Rohlicek, Michal Stefanak, Karel Julis, Pavel Sadovsky, and Frantisek Salda participated in the solemn act. Ion Dinca, Ion

Stoian, and Constantin Oancea, members of the entourage of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and the president of the Romanian SR, and the ambassadors of both countries Jan Papp and George Homostean, were present.

Leaders Interviewed at Airport

AU2005160589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 May 89 p 2

[CTK report: "The Interview Before Departure"]

[Text] Before Nicolae Ceausescu's departure, he and Milos Jakes replied to questions from journalists.

Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his gratitude for the invitation to make the visit and pronounced his complete satisfaction with its course and results.

"We discussed a wide range of issues concerning the building of socialism in Romania and Czechoslovakia. We informed each other about the present situation in both countries and stated with pleasure that our parties and our countries have achieved significant results in building a socialist society. It is well known that in the implementation of such a substantial task there existed mistakes and shortcomings—in Romania and Czechoslovakia—I am not talking about other countries. At a given time we adopted measures for the eradication of these negative phenomena but, on the whole, we have carried out great things. When I talk about Romania, I must say that an agricultural and industrial country, which has an industry producing 135 tmes more than in 1945, has evolved out of a very poorly developed country. Agriculture has grown almost tenfold and the national income has increased more than fourfold. The greatest increase took place after the ninth Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Congress in 1965. On this foundation an extensive program of industrialization was developed and a relative balance was created in the development of individual counties and areas of the country," said Nicolae Ceausescu. In another part of his reply, he characterized development in individual spheres of the economic and political life of Romania.

He continued, "with great satisfaction we stated that Czechoslovakia has also achieved remarkable successes, and, therefore, we emphasized that only socialism has created conditions for such successes. We have come to the joint conclusion that we will strengthen cooperation with the aim of further developing socialism and perfecting our activity on the basis of the latest developments of science and technology. In Romania we have created a broad democratic system for this, including councils and gatherings of workers, and we have also strengthened the position of state organs in close connection with the development of democracy and the participation of the workers in running society. Everything that we do must serve the people, their well being, independence, and progress toward communism," stressed the RCP general secretary and president of Romania.

Milos Jakes highly praised the mutual talks and expressed his conviction that the implementation of their conclusions will be beneficial not only for the Czechoslovak and Romanian people but will contribute to the tide of effort for a better world and a better life. He expressed his appreciation of the mutual exchange of views and experiences from the work of the parties in implementing the policy outlined at the 17th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Congress and the 13th RCP Congress. He said that bilateral cooperation was evaluated positively and that attention was paid to its further improvement on a multilateral basis within the framework of CEMA. We have here a lot of untapped potential which we must utilize to increase the mutual exchange of goods, but by new methods, on the basis of cooperation, specialization, and joint ventures in third markets. We also want to cooperate more broadly in science and technology because now it is important to join forces and solve problems together.

I think that we have reached the right conclusions. On the basis of the further bilateral talks, which have taken place today between representatives of the CSSR and the Romanian Socialist Republic, it was specifically agreed in which spheres we will implement cooperation, cooperation in production, and specialization. We will emphasize ensuring that these forms of cooperation are directly developed between enterprises on the basis of direct ties. The period in which we are living is very complicated, Milos Jakes further stated. Each country is looking for ways to make socialism more attractive. The substance of this effort is the same. It concerns increasing the efficiency of economic management, implementing, and, at the same time, intensifying new forms of socialist democracy, as well as creating conditions for the broad participation of people in the administration and management of the country. Of course, everyone approaches this according to his own conditions, according to the situation, but it is important to learn from each other.

We paid great attention to cooperating in the resolution of international issues, particularly to our joint participation in the activity of the Warsaw Pact, in the preparation of many proposals which are being presented, for which we are struggling, and which follow the aim of strengthening peace in the world and reducing international tension. In this sphere we want socialism to truly be the force pushing forward the solution to these problems. This proceeds from its essence because the purpose of socialism is to build a humane society of satisfied, educated, and cultured people who value their dignity and who want to fully assert themselves. Despite all its problems and shortcomings, socialism is undoubtedly the society which can achieve this, Milos Jakes stressed in conclusion.

CPCZ Discusses Visit

LD1905184289 Prague CTK in English 1713 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Prague May 19 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee discussed at its session here today the results of

Wednesday's visit to Czechoslovakia by Romanian Communist Party General Secretary and President Nicolae Ceausescu.

It appreciated the results of his talks with Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, the matter-of-fact character and frankness of their exchange of views on the basic questions of the construction of socialism in the two countries, their assessment of the level and prospects of cooperation between the two countries and their communist parties going on in the spirit of traditional friendship and understanding.

In harmony with the conclusions from the talks, the Presidium appreciated bilateral interest in the further extension of economic and scientific-technological cooperation particularly by way of extending cooperation and specialization and establishment of direct contacts between the two countries production and research organizations.

The Presidium positively evaluated the identity of views on the basic questions of international policy and their resolution to further actively contribute together with other Warsaw Treaty members to the positive tendencies in the development of international relations in the interest of peace, progress and cooperation of all countries and peoples.

The Party Presidium further discussed the agenda of and documents for the 14th Party Central Committee session due on June 14-15. A report on the party's activity after the 13th session of its Central Committee and on its further tasks will be delivered by General Secretary Milos Jakes. Also discussed will be reports on the implementation of the Party Central Committee resolution on questions of scientific-technological development and the development of engineering, metallurgy and electrical engineering.

The Presidium was acquainted with draft amendment to legal principles concerning individual working activity of citizens which takes into view the demand for higher political and legal certainties for citizens offering services on the basis of a national committee permission.

Also dealt with was a report on the development of Czechoslovakia's railway transport up to the year 2000 and the intentions concerning step-by-step modernization and reconstruction of railway transport by the year 2005.

The Presidium discussed a report on the situation in the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water system following the Hungarian government's decision to suspend the construction of its Hungarian section in Nagymaros.

The Presidium stated that the water system is being built as a united system on the basis of an extensive and long-term research and design preparation during which a number of alternate solutions have been discussed and a joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian contractual project worked out. The failure to complete the whole system in the originally agreed extent would substantially decrease the overall effectiveness of the project and make impossible the envisaged production of peak electric energy and the necessary depth for the navigation on the Danube River. The Presidium took note of the fact that smooth continuation of the constrction work is ensured on the Czechoslovak section of the project. It also voiced approval of the decision of the Czechoslovak Government to immediately enter into talks with the Hungarian Government on this problem with the aim to ensure continuation of the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water system according to the inter-state agreement and to the agreed timetable.

The Presidium took note of a report on a National Assembly delegation's visit to Afghanistan on April 30-May 7, and reiterated its support for a peaceful political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan by way of national reconciliation, without foreign interference and with full respect of the Geneva Accords.

Further on Release of Dissident Vaclav Havel

Press Report Cited

AU1905115089

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 18 May on page 3 carries a 500-word CTK report entitled "Conditional Release" on the decision of the Municipal District Court for Prague-4 to release Vaclav Havel "conditionally from the execution of punishment."

On the same page, in the "Question" column, RUDE PRAVO also carries a 450-word interview with Vitezslav Kvetensky, press spokesman for the Ministry of Justice of the Czech Socialist Republic [SR], by an unidentified interviewer. In the interview, the date and place of which are not given, Kvetensky explains the terms under which a person serving a prison term can be "conditionally" released from the "execution of punishment" before completing his sentence. Without making any direct reference to the case of Vaclav Havel, Kvetensky says that a convict who had served one-half of his punishment (or two-thirds of his punishment in special cases) can be released on parole for a probationary period ranging between 1 and 7 years if, by his "exemplary conduct and honest attitude toward work" while in prison, he "demonstrated that he has mended his ways and can be expected to lead an orderly life in the future" or if the court accepts a "guarantee" issued by a social organization on the convict's behalf. Kvetensky says that during the probationary period the court "monitors" whether the convict "properly complies with all the conditions assigned to him" and on this basis decides either on annulling the remaining sentence or on its "execution." To show that such an early release is a routine procedure, Kvetensky says that in 1988 a total of 23,288 persons received unconditional sentences in the

Czech SR and that over the same period Czech courts dealt with 7,404 requests for "release on parole." Of this number, 3,483 were granted.

Havel Interviewed

AU1905121889 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 19 May 89 p 4

[Telephone interview with dissident Vaclav Havel and former CPCZ First Secretary Alexander Dubcek by author Pavel Kohut, resident in Vienna, for DER STANDARD; date not given: "A Political Decision"]

[Text] DER STANDARD: Vasicku! I embrace you! (Some very personal words of joy and friendship are exchanged.) How have you fared this time, in prison?

Havel: Well, compared to the time I spent in prison 10 years ago, I can only call it a "nice jail." Although it is absurd to take the conditions of imprisonment as a standard for the stage of "perestroyka," it is undoubtedly true that better days have come for me, as someone who has repeatedly been imprisoned.

DER STANDARD: How was this evident?

Havel: I was a prominent prisoner with whom even the prison management tried to show its solidarity.

DER STANDARD: The fact that even those ominous CSSR circles think that you anticipate more promise for the future is significant proof. How did you feel there under such circumstances?

(A doorbell rings in the background, then loud voices and laughter are heard.)

Havel: No...this cannot be true...! Wait a moment, I have somebody for you!

DER STANDARD: Wait, I want to talk to you....

Voice (in Slovak): Hello to you.

DER STANDARD: Who is it?

Voice: Do you not recognize me any more?

DER STANDARD: I really do not know....

Voice: It has been a long time. I am Alexander.

DER STANDARD: What Alexa...oh, no!

Dubcek (laughing): Oh, yes!

DER STANDARD: This sounds like "The Three Musketeers 20 Years Later"! Why have you come to see Vaclav?

Dubcek: I came to Prague for a visit and then I heard that he has just been released, and I wanted to say hello to him.

DER STANDARD: God, is it good to hear you again! Yet we live only a stone's throw away from each other. How are you?

Dubcek: Under the circumstances, excellent.

DER STANDARD: I hope that we will soon be able to embrace each other.

Dubcek: So do I. Here is Vaclav again.

Havel: Is this not fantastic?

DER STANDARD: Is is rather logical. You two—this is tomorrow's platform. Well, how did you feel there?

Havel: Excellent, in fact.

DER STANDARD: On the occasion of CSSR Foreign Minister Johanes' visit to Vienna I wrote about you and your fellow fighters: "They are in a happy mood, also because they know that the outrageousness of the sentences outmatches all the stones thrown at the guardians of the state elsewhere."

Havel: This is true. Of course, being imprisoned is fine if one knows that this serves a purpose.

DER STANDARD: When did you hear that you would be released?

Havel: This was clear for me as early as 2 months ago. It was not a judicial, but rather a political decision.

DER STANDARD: What did you do first after your release?

Havel: First, I had a decent meal with decent drinks, while friends told me the latest news.

DER STANDARD: Where did you go and what did you order?

Havel: I got an appetite for raznici in the Paroblavba Inn in our block on the banks of the Vltava.

DER STANDARD: What are your immediate plans?

Havel: In the first place, getting rid of the clothes in which I was arrested 4 months ago and which are almost stinking. However, I have no time because the telephone is continuously ringing and so many friends and journalists have come to see me.

DER STANDARD: And in the long run?

Havel: I want to write a new play.

DER STANDARD: Your release is considered here as the start of a new era in which the CSSR wants to observe the Helsinki Agreement.

Havel: Unfortunately, this has not yet been the case. It is true that my sentence cried out to heaven, because it did not affect an unknown person and many people protested. Most of my friends are still stewing in prison and are having half the fun I had. All the indications are that the present leadership wants to cling to power to dodge its responsibility.

DER STANDARD: That is, a Noriega effect.

Havel: What is Noriega?

DER STANDARD: Pardon me, you were removed from civilization for some time. One more question: DER STANDARD, which has especially consistently kept track of your fate and all the CSSR's problems, also wants to publish this interview.

Havel: I gladly agree. Thanks and greetings.

Women (calling): Vaskuuuuu!

DER STANDARD: Good luck, Vasicku!

Havel: Same to you, Pavel! Hope that we can meet soon!

Interviewed by Budapest Radio

LD2005231489

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1400 GMT on 20 May carries a live or recorded interview by reporter Katalin Toelgyessy with recently-released Czechoslovak dissident Vaclav Havel. Speaking from Prague by telephone, Havel speaks in Czech with superimposed Hungarian translation.

Asked how he feels, Havel says: "I am terribly tired. I have been free for about 30 hours and have had almost no sleep. I am constantly chatting with someone. Last night I had visits from about 200 of my friends. I was particularly glad that Alexander Dubcek also came to see me."

Asked about visits from journalists, Havel says that only Western journalists have visited him.

Toelgyessy then asks: "In your opinion, were you released because, as a political prisoner, you were beginning to get on the authorities' nerves—that is, because your name is Vaclav Havel?"

Havel replies: "It was another comedy. Naturally, it was not the court that decided on my release; this was a political decision made somewhere up there.

"The enormous domestic and international solidarity created a situation which exerted some sort of pressure and thus the authorities were obliged to give in. But I felt from the first moment that I could not play the role of shopwindow [words indistinct]. I cannot accept for others to be kept locked up just becuase they are not playwrights, because they are less well known, and because there have not been so many protests about them. So I have called attention to them in every interview I have given since my release."

Asked about the protests in other Eastern European countries, Havel says that the reforms are no longer limited to a single country. "There are manifestations of a new type of solidarity, which cross the borders of certain Soviet bloc countries. This is a process which I regard as very important," he says.

Concerning how he sees the situation in Czechoslovakia now, Havel says that he has not had time to inform himself sufficiently, but he feels that "during the time I was in prison, a great deal changed in our country. For example, after 20 years, for the first time scholars, artists, those who can work in the first line of publicity, initiate [words indistinct] from below, and raise their voices not only against my imprisonment but also against the January actions of the police. A few months ago this would have been inconceivable."

Dissident Pitas Sentenced to Prison Term

AU2205080389 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 22 May 89 p 2

[Text] A CSSR court has sentenced civil rights activist Stanislav Pitas to 10 months in prison for "obstructing public authority."

Foreign Criticism of Nagymaros Decision Cited

AU1805155589

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 17 May on page 7, under the headline "Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky: We Must Insist on the Observance of Contracts," carries a 500-word dispatch by CTK correspondents in Vienna and Budapest on reactions in Austria and Hungary to the decision of the Hungarian Government to temporarily halt the construction of the Nagymaros hydroelectric power station. The Vienna dispatch cites Austrian Chancellor Vrantizky's statement that Austria must "insist that contracts be observed" and Economics Minister Schuessel and Vienna Deputy Mayor Mayr on the economic losses which are likely to arise from the Hungarian decision for the Austrian industry and Austrian taxpayers. The dispatch also cites a statement issued by Austrian industrialists, which described as "unrealistic" the Hungarian suggestion that Austrian firms involved in Nagymaros be "compensated" by being offered other contracts.

The Budapest dispatch notes that "polemics and conflicting opinions" on the government decision in Hungary "are not dying down" and cites a statement by government commissioner Peter Havas that "the halting of construction means greater financial and material losses than its continuation." The dispatch also points out that the 30 Hungarian firms involved in construction are facing the problem of keeping their labor force employed. The only statement approving of the Hungarian decision which is cited by CTK is that of Hungarian opposition forces, which are said to have "welcomed the decision" and to have expressed the hope that "construction will be halted once and for all."

Hungarian Public Said To Oppose

AU1905131989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 May 89 p 7

[Vojtech Vesely dispatch: "Searching for Arguments; Silence Has Fallen on Nagymaros—What Will Happen Now?"]

[Text] Budapest (By our permanent correspondent)—The Hungarian Government's Saturday decision to immediately suspend construction work on the Nagymaros barrage of the hydroproject on the Danube has already been carried out. Silence has fallen on the construction site; only the pumping machinery is humming in the huge construction pit, as it drains off the water that had seeped through. The bottom of the pit lies 20 meters below river level. But the surface of public opinion shows definite ripples in its search for an answer to the question: What will happen now?

The opponents of the construction project—the so-called Green and Blue Groups (such as the Danube Circle)—are in a state of euphoria. A Danube Circle representative has called the government decision a step toward national conciliation; in a letter to Premier M. Nemeth, seven opposition organizations and parties have expressed their approval for the halt to construction work and simultaneously the hope that the decision is final.

In its Wednesday [17 May] editorial, the daily MAGYAR NEMZET, known for its unambiguous opposition to the construction project, welcomed the suspension of construction work in Nagymaros, saying that it "demonstrated the government's resolute line in economy, policy, and reforms, and also its foresight in taking into account both the rationalization of international relations and the mutual interests." It is a paradox that the same editorial also demands that Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations, burdened by the immense material losses due to the halting of construction work, be developed in the spirit of the ideas of such Slovak, Czech, and Hungarian giants of the spirit as Kollar, the Capek brothers, Kodaly, and Bartok....

It is true that the opposition does not express the views of every citizen. However, those who make no secret of their belief that the project should be completed, such as the 39 deputies of the Pest County Council or the members of the Nagymaros Community Council, but also others, find themselves the target of dishonorable criticism from the "democratic" adversaries of the construction project.

The factual data on the expected consequences, losses, and compensation have a sobering effect. According to an authoritative expert, the production shortfall would represent 333 megawatts in peak energy, or about 5 percent of the country's total energy consumption. Thermal power plants operating with lower-quality domestic coal are now being considered to compensate for this. But the pernicious impact of this solution on the ecology has so far not been mentioned.... There is also no answer to the question of how Hungary will cope with the annual deliveries of 1.2 kilowatt hours of electric power to Austria up to the year 1996, to compensate for the Austrian deliveries of construction materials and machinery for Nagymaros to the tune of 5.6 million Austrian schillings. These deliveries have already been made or are in the process of being made. Although the Austrian side has expressed total understanding for the Hungarian Government's decision, its entrepreneurs will be firmly demanding compensation for their losses, estimated today at 1.2 billion Austrian schillings.

In an interview for the magazine 168 ORA, Laszlo Lorant, professor of international law at the Eotvos Lorand University in Budapest, dealt with the compensations for Czechoslovakia.

When asked about the reasons which can be quoted by the Hungarian side to explain its decision, he replied that it could mention the country's deteriorated economic situation and point out the increasing budget costs for the construction project. "Apart from that, both sides have undertaken the treaty commitment to build sewage disposal plants—which, as I know, have not been built on the Czechoslovak side, either. This, too, can be used as an argument."

He then stated that the calculations carried out by the Hungarian planning office have shown that failure to complete the construction project would cost the country twice as much as its completion; this totally disposes of the argument about the wish to limit state expenditures. Hungary would be unable to fulfill its commitments toward Czechoslovakia in terms of money (the editor's question mentioned Kcs35 billion); it could do so only in terms of commodities, for instance by delivering Baba engines or corn. This requires both negotiations and a compromise.

Joint Cooperation Committee With Cuba Meets

Pitra Receives Official

LD1805155289 Prague CTK in English 1429 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Prague May 18 (CTK)—Prime Minister of the Czech Government Frantisek Pitra received here today Cuban Council of Ministers Vice-president Joel Domenech Benitez in connection with the 13th session of the Czechoslovak-Cuban Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation.

They discussed bilateral relations and development of cooperation in the 1991-1995 period.

Committee Ends Session

LD1905142889 Prague CTK in English 1320 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Prague May 19 (CTK)—A session of the Czechoslovak-Cuban committee for economic and scientific-technological cooperation ended here today.

At the end of the session, First Czech Deputy Premier and Chairman of the Czech Commission for planning and Scientific-Technological Development Miroslav Toman and Vice-President of the Cuban Council of Ministers and Chairman of the National Commission for Power Engineering Joel Domenech Benitez signed a document summing up the results of the session.

The two representatives appreciated the long-standing tradition of mutual relations in the sphere of economy. They paid great attention to the finishing of joint projects planned for the current five-year period and to the choice of mutually beneficial actions for the 1991-1995 period.

They discussed the possibilities of cooperation between individual enterprises and economic organizations of the two countries, speaking also of cooperation between planning institutions in connection with the coordination of national economic plans for the next five-year period.

Editorial Views Proposals for CEMA Restructuring

AU1805093489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 May 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Our Proposals for CEMA"]

[Text] CEMA has favorably influenced the development of the economies of its member countries. It has become the main base for ensuring the planned manner and regulation of their cooperation. It will maintain that position, but it is necessary to take into account the changes occurring both in the development of the individual member countries and in the broader international cooperation.

Not only expediency, but the very necessity of restructuring the mechanism of cooperation arose from the conclusions of the working consultation of the general and first secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of the member states of the socialist community in November 1986 and the resolutions of the 43d (extraordinary) and the 44th CEMA sessions.

The Czechoslovak side's response to the aforementioned conclusions and resolutions includes the proposals of an initiative nature that were recently adopted by the CSSR Government.

The proposals of the Czechoslovak side express the readiness to take an active part in realizing the collective Concept of CEMA's International Socialist Division of Labor Through the Year 2005. The Czechoslovak side considers it necessary to combine the measures of the radical reform of the Czechoslovak economic mechanism with measures aimed at restructuring the CEMA mechanism.

A proposal for a comprehensive concept of restructuring the mechanism of CEMA activities, adopted by the CSSR Government over the past few days, sets the objectives, main instruments of improvement of multilateral cooperation, organizational forms of development of the socialist economic integration, as well as the creation of a single market of the CEMA member-countries interested in this.

As the immediate objective it determines the achievement of a state that would correspond to the needs of the intensification of the social and economic development of the CEMA member-countries. The new cooperation mechanism must encourage all national levels of management to seek optimal variants of specialization, cooperation, and mutual goods exchange; it must contribute to a more effective involvement in the world division of labor.

The Czechoslovak side also proposes orienting the restructuring of the main instruments of the mechanism of CEMA's activity above all toward coordinating the overall economic policy by means of national economic plans, price setting, and financial relations; and, in connection with this, it proposes simplifying the coordination of external relations, expanding the monetary mechanism, making use of the instruments of value and money-market relations, and creating a new exchange rate system for national currencies.

The proposed single market is characterized by an interlinking of reproduction processes in which individual subjects of national economies can carry out business activities on the territory of any state of the single market. This presumes the consistent unification of a

number of components of the national economic mechanisms and the establishment of the strong institutions at the center and in individual economies, as well as on the international level. Those, then, will create the necessary economic conditions.

What are the time frames within which our activity proceeds? The Czechoslovak proposal envisages the completion of restructuring of national economic mechanisms and the adoption of practical and systemic consolidation measures to overcome both the domestic and the external imbalance by 1991. By 1995, the system of coordination of the economic policy of CEMA member-countries concerned should be adopted with obligatory outputs, with the preparation of the transition to the coordination of the national economic plans on the level of the center and enterprises, with their gradual transition to direct horizontal relations.

In another stage, by the year 2000, free trade is to be set up, and by the year 2005 a customs union, a single market, and finally a common currency are to be introduced.

Within the framework of the conditions for developing integration and forming the single market, it is proposed—with the strengthening of the stability of domestic markets in mind—that consolidation programs be worked out and implemented in the member countries in 1991-95, programs which would help to improve supplies on the domestic markets of the member countries, especially supplies of consumer goods. Particular attention must be paid to developing the production of passenger automobiles and consumer electronics, but also modern machinery and equipment for the light industry. Prerequisites for improving and developing tourism will also be created.

Within the framework of our economy's restructuring, proposals are being prepared which will be used in the course of coordinating the national economic plans with the other CEMA member-countries. The proposals will focus on integrated cooperation between economic organizations, above all in the production of machinery and equipment for the textile industry, of machine tools and forming machinery, electronic circuits, technologies for the leather-processing industry, for the protection and creation of the environment, and so forth.

The development of economic cooperation will place greater demands on transportation. In this connection, it is proposed that one prepare and negotiate projects for canals that would connect the Danube with the Baltic, North, and Mediterranean Seas, build transport routes of international significance, high-speed railroads in the CSSR linked with the international network, increase the number of telephones in the member states, and form a basis for the development of data processing.

Regarding cooperation in the non-production sphere, we propose a project for organizing the training highly qualified ranking personnel, capable of passing muster under the conditions of the new management mechanism, a project for developing marketing, and the setting up of consultation firms. It is recommended that, on the basis of direct relations in the CEMA member-countries, a special economic organization be established for the free purchase and sale of scientific-technical results and information, and of the instruments and technology necessary for scientific experimentation, research, and development.

Today, the community of the CEMA member-countries constitutes an economic complex with more than 470 million inhabitants with one-fifth of world industrial production, one-sixth of world agricultural production, and one-fifth of the world's national income. It has had a number of successes. In recent years, however, the existing mechanism of cooperation has not provided sufficient stimuli for further social and economic development.

Thus, the Czechoslovak activities are a stimulus for the intensification of CEMA's activity under the new conditions, for the desirable development of the member countries, and for increasing CEMA's share in the world economy.

Poland's Jaruzelski Arrives for Visit, Talks

LD2205073389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0716 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, arrived for a friendly visit in Berlin this morning. He took up an invitation from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, who cordially welcomed his guest at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport which was decorated with the flags of the international workers' movement and the GDR and Polish state flags.

Water Agreement Expected

LD2205093989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski is paying a 1-day working visit to Berlin. The visit is taking place at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist United Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. Meetings of the leaders of the two friendly states take place regularly and serve the development of mutual cooperation. During Wojciech Jaruzelski's stay in Berlin the signing of an agreement on the delimitation of waters in the Pomeranian Bay by the foreign ministers, and in the presence of both leaders, is expected. The preparation of the agreement was preceded by successful expert talks and negotiations between both sides, during which the boundaries of the territorial waters of both countries were established, as were the delimitation of the continental shelf and fishing zones.

It is also expected that during today's talks in Berlin issues of bilateral economic and cultural cooperation will be discussed. The previous meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Erich Honecker was held last year in June in Wroclaw.

Jaruzelski, Honecker Begin Talks

LD2205100189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0809 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The highest representatives of the GDR and the Polish Peoples' Republic, Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski, started their political talks in Berlin this morning.

The general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, once more cordially welcomed his guest, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the Polish Peoples' Republic, in the presence of the two countries' delegation members, at Niederschoenhausen Castle.

In the castle's hall of mirrors, GDR and foreign journalists, photographers and radio and television reporters had the opportunity to follow the encounter and the start of the friendly meeting.

Earlier Wojciech Jaruzelski arrived for a friendly visit in Berlin. He is taking up an invitation from Erich Honecker who welcomed his guest at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport.

DPA on Objections to 7 May Elections

LD1905133989 Hamburg DPA in German 1250 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Over 250 GDR citizens have objected to the validity of the local elections on 7 May in letters to the National Council of the National Front. It was said Friday by groups close to the church in East Berlin that one objection alone, concerning differences between the No votes in several city districts counted by grassroots groups and those published in the media, carries the signatures of 188 citizens. Among the signatories are around 40 theology students and workers for the peace and human rights initiative.

Another objection, in which published results in Potsdam are called into doubt, was signed, according to this information, by 73 citizens. In addition, individuals in several GDR towns and nonstate peace circles in East Berlin also set petititions to the Council of State and objections concerning the election to the National Council of the National Front. Protest letters concerning alleged election falsifications in Rostock, Neuruppin, and Leipzig were also sent.

The objections are based on Paragraph 43 of the electoral law. It says: Objection to the validity of the election in a constituency or to a people's representation can be filed, with the people's representation within 14 days after the announcement of the election result by the National Council or the responsible committees of the National Front. The signatories of the letter to the leadership of the National Front now hope that the body will adopt their arguments as its own.

Along with the differences in No votes, the following are named in statements in East Berlin as "violations of the GDR electoral law": Polling stations were not publicized; the public was excluded in several cases from the vote counting; and the controlling of their votes cast by means of the electoral roll and the available voting cards was refrained from to a very far-reaching extent. It is stressed elsewhere that statements on electoral participation were made public only at a few polling stations.

Economic Cooperation With Romania Discussed

AU2005153089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 May 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Discussions on the further development of economic cooperation between the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania began in

Berlin on Wednesday [17 May]. The talks are headed by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission of the GDR, and Radu Balan, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

According to the November 1988 basic agreements between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the talks focused on the tasks of further deepening economic and scientific-technological cooperation, particularly for coordinating the plans of the national economies for the period of 1991 to 1995.

Both sides stressed that the long-standing program up to the year 2000 and the agreed "joint tasks for the development of the specialization of and cooperation between production and scientific-technological cooperation up to 1995" are an important basis for coordinating the next 5-year plan.

In accordance with the decisions of the 43d and 44th CEMA meeting, the two sides agreed on a working program of the central planning bodies of the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania for the bilateral coordination of the plans. This will actively involve the relevant ministries, combines, enterprises, and scientific institutions of both countries. It is of primary importance to further deepen scientific-technological cooperation, and to apply the key technologies rapidly and with greater diversity.

Gerhard Schuerer and Radu Balan said that they think that there are good conditions for the further dynamic development of trade, particularly by increasing specialization, production cooperation, and other forms of cooperation.

Present at the talks were Ion Ceausescu, first deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Socialist Republic of Romania, minister secretary of state; Gheorghe Caranfil, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the GDR, and other officials of both countries.

Schabowski Receives Belgrade LCY Official

AU1905124289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 May 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—A delegation of the City Committee of the Belgrade League of Communists, headed by City Committee Chairman Rados Smiljkovic, arrived in Berlin on Wednesday [17 May] at the invitation of the bezirk leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. It was cordially welcomed at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport by Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership. Milan Predojevic, SFRY ambassador to the GDR, was present at the airport.

During the meeting between the Yugoslav guests and the secretary of the bezirk leadership, Guenter Schabowski briefed his guests on the experience and results of the work of the Berlin party organization in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and in preparing for the 12th SED Congress. He stressed that with high performance and new initiatives in the 40th year of the GDR, the working people of Berlin contribute to further implementing the unity of economic and social policy for the well-being of the people, to strengthening socialism, and to securing peace.

Part of the basis of this policy is the firm alliance between the SED and the other political parties and mass organizations of the GDR, Schabowski noted. This alliance has once again proved impressively successful at the 7 May local elections. The Whitsun meeting of the Free German Youth in the capital demonstrated the unity between party and young people in a way that found even great international attention.

Rados Smiljkovic outlined the current situation in Yugoslavia and the many and varied efforts of the Communists in his country to secure stable socialist development and to maintain the revolutionary achievements. Guenter Schabowski assured the guests from Belgrade that the SED and the GDR will continue to follow this struggle with attention and affinity, and that they aim at extending the many and varied contacts between the two parties and states for their mutual benefit.

On the same day, Rados Smiljkovic signed the "Golden Book" in the Red Town Hall of the capital.

Beil Receives Belgian Economic Delegation

AU1905111589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 May 89 p 2

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil received His Royal Highness Prince Albert, honorary president of the Belgian Foreign Trade Office, and Belgian Minister of Foreign Trade Robert Urbain, who were accompanied by advisers, in Berlin on Wednesday [17 May]. The partners in the talk praised the successful development of trade and economic relations between their countries, particularly during the past few years. They conducted a detailed exchange of opinions on the future road and future measures for extending economic cooperation, which will focus on the expansion of industrial-technological relations between GDR foreign trade enterprises and combines and Belgian companies. It is intended to increase cooperation on third markets. [passage omitted]

Parties Issue 'Joint Appeal' Against Neonazis

LD2005105989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0200 GMT 20 May 89

["Joint Appeal of the SED, DKP, and SEW Against Neonazism and Military Danger"—ADN headline]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the German Communist Party [DKP], and the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin [SEW] have issued, with deep concern, a joint appeal to all peace-loving and antifascist democratic people in Europe.

In the 50th year of the anniversary of the beginning of World War II, unleashed by Hitler's fascism, the activities of rightwing extremists and incorrigible old and new Nazis are increasing alarmingly, the appeal says. An openly neonazi party entered for the time in the history of this city the West Berlin House of Representatives. They took up mandates in town and community parliaments in the FRG. [passage omitted]

An appeal is made to the states, governments, and peoples of all social classes and strata, of the most varied political and philosophical schools of thought, to all Europeans of goodwill, to be vigilant. [passage omitted]

For this reason, demand with us: The ban and dissolution of all neonazi parties and organizations, stripping them of the parliamentary mandates already won, and no admission of neonazi forces in elections. We seek the overcoming of hostility toward foreigners and incitement of the peoples; of supremacist and revanchist endeavors; the general safeguarding of equality in a tolerant society; the creation of an antifascist climate and comprehensive social proscription of neonazism, racism, and revanchism; and further detente in the political situation above all by means of the constant continuation of the disarmament process which has begun and confidence-building and cooperation between all states to solve urgent problems of mankind's existence and in the interests of the creation of a common European home of peace. Never again war and fascism on German soil. [passage omitted]

Together we must do justice to the responsibility given to us by the victims of fascism and war for peaceful development on our continent. Together we can stop neonazism and military danger, it says in conclusion.

Reportage on Reform Circles Meeting in Szeged

Nyers Comments Before Meeting

LD1805095489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Rezso Nyers, Politburo member and minister of state, today gave a lecture at a meeting of the Budapest Reform Circle. Jozsef Orosz reports:

[Orosz] According to Rezso Nyeres, the Stalinist model fell in 1956, and the Politburo member called the Kadar era the corrected restoration of the model. In 1972, at the time of the halting of the reforms, the political leadership sold the future of the country for short-term political successes. A condition of the launching of the reforms was, at the time, that in the party leadership the center made an alliance with the reform wing. However, this was dissolved in 1972 and the center made a deal with the conservative and neo-Stalinist Brezhnevite wing.

Rezso Nyers did not look for a direct connection between the situation then and that of today, but said that not a Bolshevik, but people's party can turn out as the center for the movement. If the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party wants to become a reform party then the reform wing must be, now too, joined by the center.

The Politburo member said that a party split, the formation of an independent reform communist party, would not strengthen the restructuring, the changes. The reforms can be speeded up by the strengthened new political center. The conservative minority would remain a so-called internal party opposition—the living conscience of the party. The new political, now reform, center has to utilize the values of social democracy, that is the recognition of the market. And it must recognize and give scope at a rapid pace to individual rights of freedom.

A true party tolerates and accepts the currents within it, be they social democratic or reform communist in nature.

All this was said by Rezso Nyers 3 days before the country's reform circles meet again this weekend in Szeged. The MSZMP must be a true people's party, said Politburo member Rezso Nyers.

Reformers Criticize Grosz

LD1905210389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] There is an argument between the Budapest Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Reform Circle, and Karoly Grosz's adviser.

According to the MSZMP's Budapest Reform Circle, the tone of the statement given to THE NEW YORK TIMES by Karoly Grosz and an unnamed colleague of his is conceited and dictatorial. Regarding its content, it raises questions about the seriousness of the intention for a peaceful transition to a democratic multiparty system, and thus can only be aimed at provoking the opposition.

Also in an open letter, Gyula Thurmer, foreign political adviser of the MSZMP general secretary, rejected the point of view of the MSZMP's Budapest Reform Circle. Gyula Thurmer does not consider ethical the way the Reform Circle turned to the press with its criticism. He emphasizes that the MSZMP committed itself to democratic socialism long before the creation of the Budapest Reform Circle. According to Gyula Thurmer, in his article in THE NEW YORK TIMES, Karoly Grosz outlined his own opinion, but it is also shared by the majority of the party membership.

Reform Circles Session Opens

LD2005113989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] The MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] reform circles are holding their first national meeting. Zsuzsa Ladanyi reports from Szeged.

[Ladanyi] There is great interest in Szeged in the meeting of the reform circles. Four hundred party members are participating in the event as delegates from almost 100 reform circles, and apart from them several hundred interested people are following the meeting with attention. It was joyfully greeted by the Szeged organizations of the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Demcrats], the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Social Democratic Party, the Alliance of Free Democrats, and [word indistinct] Club, who declared that they are watching the endeavors of the reform wing with sympathy, because the internal democratization of the MSZMP is the precondition for the dissolution of the party state and the democratization of the present political situation.

At the opening plenary session, Gyorgy Kerenyi from Keceskemet said that the participants in the reform circles want to feel at home in the party, and they wish to win over as many as possible from those who represent other currents of reform thinking. They do not, therefore, wish to leave the party, but to take possession of it [elfoglalni], to form it into a democratic reform party that serves the people.

The reform forces are willing to support an internal [word indistinct] coalition, but on the basis of clear standpoints and honest democratic rules. Enough of stealthy, sidling, sly politicizing, said Gyorgy Kerenyi. At the same time, he pointed out that a well-prepared, creditworthy leadership is needed; a leadership that listens to the membership and also lets it decide. If a party congress is democratically organized, represents platforms, and creates the possibility of turning into a modern political party, then it can be presumed that there will be no need for reform circles. But for the moment the reform circles should still take precedence in creating the program and in making decisions.

It is very significant that the reform circles do not want the party to disintegrate. Nor do they want a semblance of unity at all costs, which would make it incapable of action. Furthermore, they do not want a new kind of monolithic unity in place of the old, a reform dictatorship. And they do not want to push those who think differently out of the party. Jozsef Geczi, a member of the Szeged Reform Circle, said that if the economy collapses, all political reforms will be of no interest to the citizens. He urged the holding of an extraordinary party congress and said that if this is not held within 6 months, then it will not be able to unify the forces capable of reform in the MSZMP and the party will disintegrate.

Today's meeting can significantly contribute to the working out of a new party program. The meeting is now continuing in session. The results of these will be outlined at tonight's closing plenary session, and they will debate a closing document, which if accepted is to be regarded as the program for the reform forces.

Speakers Urge Party Congress

LD2005194489 Budapest MTI in English 1752 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 20 (MTI)—The first National Conference of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Reform Circles started its work in Szeged on Saturday with the participation of over 400 people of 110 reform circles and 100 representatives of new groups, parties and social movements.

Present are State Minister Imre Pozsgay and Pal Vastagh, first secretary of the Csongrad County party committee, both members of the HSWP Political Committee.

Jozsef Lovaszi, representative of the Csongrad County Reform Circle and conference host, said the objective of the meeting was to work out a platform for reform within the HSWP.

The emergence of reform circles is first of all an explicit criticism of the functioning of the party, Gyorgy Kerenyi, member of the Bacs-Kiskun County reform circle, said in his keynote address. Then he referred to the fact that the number of party members was on the decrease. One of the reasons for the disappointment is the abundance of red tape within the party, and the lack of human relationships and solidarity. Both society and the economy are undergoing manifold processes, yet the party's reform has got stuck at a certain level and cannot move until the present structure changes.

The reform circles are calling for genuine politics. They do not want to leave the party, but to occupy it, thereby paving the way for a massive transformation bringing about a self-reliant, democratic and socialist party. The party needs a leadership that both listens to the members and lets them decide. 'We've had enough of the sneaky, stealthy way of doing politics. The Central Committee has announced a party conference, but the reform circles want a congress', says Mr Kerenyi.

No matter how much it may like to, the HSWP cannot get rid of the Stalinist model until it changes its own internal mechanism and structure, Jozsef Geczi, representative of the Csongrad County Reform Circle, said at the plenary session. He added this would require an extraordinary, rescheduled or any kind of party congress urgently, as early as this year. The system of appointing delegates should be democratic, open to the whole party public.

Speaking about the past, he said that a number of reform circles would at last expect a delayed, but unambiguous, political assessment from the HSWP of the political, literary and philosophical trends of democratic socialism after 1953 one month before the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates. He also said that reformers within the HSWP cannot avoid the attempt to give a differentiated evaluation of the Kadar era. On the economic situation, he said that the policy of the government cannot break loose of the tax trap. The reform circles are pressing for the implementation of ownership reform under political and market control and the diminishing of the bureaucratic state ownership.

It was also announced at the plenary session that Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee, and Matyas Szuros, speaker of parliament, as well as the opposition round table, had sent letters of greeting to the conference.

Pal Vastagh, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political Committee and first secretary of the Csongrad County party committee, contributed to the evening plenary session. He stressed the conference proved that the reform circles had grown into a wide movement within the party. This would make for the reinforcement of democracy within the party and its becoming an organization engaged in politics and discussing social problems of vital importance.

Mr Vastagh underlined that a multi-party system is an important facet of the unfolding political structure. Yet a multi-party system cannot be regarded as the fundamental value and standard of democracy, as it should go hand in hand with other reforms. He said the HSWP had also contributed to the current predicament of the country. The serious burdens should be got rid of. International circumstances have never been as favourable as now for tackling the problems at hand. What happens in Hungary today is not merely a domestic affair, but one concerning Europe as a whole. This responsibility should determine our actions, Pal Vastagh concluded.

State Minister Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Political Committee, said in his contribution: 'The most important conclusion of the National Conference of Reform Circles was that there would be no social renewal

without the HSWP. But if the party can't redefine itself, then it won't be able to become a genuine partner to the other social forces which are also required for advance in Hungary. Another lesson is that a large part of the HSWP membership has nothing to be ashamed of. We can say that the reform circles are not directed by organizational goals, but by national ones'.

Mr Pozsgay thinks the HSWP has no other option but to recognize reform, as every other way may lead to catastrophe, and both the country and party have already suffered several of these during the past decades. The country has mentally made the turn around. The party can retain its governing role only if it follows suit.

'The reform circles can become dynamic, mobile communities that respond to the intellectual and economic challenges only if they reach a consensus in some fundamental questions in the process,' the state minister continued. The most important thing would be to implement a transition from the Stalinist model to democratic socialism and its political order.

Reformers Urge Systematic Change

LD2105115789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Reform Circles want the date of the congress moved up. They will not be content with a party conference. This transpired unequivocally yesterday at the Szeged national meeting. The rally is still going on at the moment, or perhaps it is ending now, at which first of all the planned common platform of the reform circles was discussed, followed by speeches from two Politburo members, Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay. Zsuzsa Ladanyi sent us this report from the scene a few minutes ago:

[Ladanyi] Following yesterday's national meeting of the reform circles, this morning they organized a political rally in the Ujszeged openair theater. Here, first of all they made known what they wish to formulate in the closing document, on the basis of yesterday's section meetings' debates, which if accepted are to be viewed as the platform of the reform movement. I quote from these: Today's combined crisis is the crisis of the Asian-type, despotic, post-Stalinist system which, although it was somewhat amended after 1956, by today it is unequivocally incapable of functioning.

In connection with Imre Nagy: They should state that he was the victim of a show trial.

Imre Keserue spoke of the fact that the country stands before a turnaround of revolutionary dimensions. The reform circles will not allow the MSZMP to be left out of this. The system that cast out the reform communists, he said, hinting, among others, at Zoltan Kiraly and his companions, cannot be called socialism. He urged a change in the model, emphasizing that this can only be carried out under peaceful circumstances. For this, minimal consensus is needed.

One third of the Politburo participated in the rally: Imre Pozsgay, Rezso Nyers, and Pal Vastagh.

According to Rezso Nyers, we must leave the Stalinist-style system of socialism behind us. A new kind of socialism must be developed. We need reform with revolutionary ardor, which structurally changes society. The MSZMP, he said, must make it understood that it favors the negotiations in the framework of national reconciliation. The truth must be sought, not who is right, he emphasized. And he too favors convening the party congress.

Imre Pozsgay urged that there should be enough resolve to realize the ideas. In this he emphasized the role of the reform circles, which can fill the role of [word indistinct] in the consensus, in the interests of national, social aims.

Party Split, Other Issues Cited

LD2105164889 Budapest MTI in English 1516 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—The section of the conference of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] reforms circles called 'What Kind of Party We Want', said the HSWP is not a party at present, as it lacks both a national programme and a leadership ready for action, as well as membership to be convinced by the former assets. Therefore, it should be turned into a real party. Many think it is the reform wing that carries the potential of renewal, and one way to bring about the change would be the rescheduled party congress. Almost every contributor agreed that a party congress should be held already before this autumn. The contributors did not call for a split in the party, yet they did not exclude the possibility. They said a split in the party would not come at the right time now, since the fundamentalist group of a beheaded party would be left holding all the means of power.

When assessing the Kadar era and the history of Hungary in the post-war period, the international conditions at the time should also be studied to see how much the prevailing leadership over or underestimated them. The section called 'Our Past in the Present' maintained that it should be examined to what extent the Soviet leadership contributed to the suppression of Hungarian reformers. On the evaluation of the 1956 events, they said it was not only a question of the present day politics, but a way to find alternatives for the current social processes in Hungary with reference to the workers' councils, revolutional and national committees set up at that time.

A contributor proposed the conference should declare the events started on October 23, 1956, were a revolution halted by an external intervention on November 4. The subject caused a fierce debate and was concluded by a motion by the section that the conference should initiate the political rehabilitation of Imre Nagy, and that the HSWP reform circles take part in the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates and lay their wreaths on the graves.

According to the section dealing with the problems involved in the transition to a democratic constitutional state, a dialogue between the establishment and society is inevitable. The negotiations between the HSWP and the opposition round table have reached a dead end, owing to the fault of some HSWP leaders. Many feel some of the leaders of the HSWP do not seem to be willing to negotiate. Therefore they propose that the party set up a new committee comprising politically authentic figures, others think it should not be the HSWP, but a delegation of the government or parliament that resumes negotiations with the opposition.

They also spoke of the need for a kind of spiritual coalition, that is a cooperation between the forces of the party and the opposition ready to reach an agreement on cutting their own extreme views. With regard to the HSWP, this would imply that those who stick to the monopoly of power at all cost should be forced into the background together with those members of the opposition who would like to see the Communists outside the national coalition.

Economic growth can be based exclusively on continuous restructuring, a program the separation of politics from economy, the reform of ownership system, and the establishment of a market economy. [sentence as received] First of all, economy should be freed from the ideological burdens imposed on it in the course of the past decades, which they could not get rid of despite all the reform rhetoric. They also said an attempt should be made to achieve the impossible and expand the freedom of movement of enterprises parallel to the maintenance of external balance.

A historical pathway proved to be wrong making a change of models necessary, the section dealing with the situation of society and reform pointed out. The tranformation of the microstructure of society has become inevitable, since reforms proved very inefficient in this sphere.

The position of the section was that the date of the elections should not be set in terms of tactical considerations, and they warned that a transformation could be effected only by a legitimate leadership supported by the voters.

Reform Circles Draft Platform

LD2105192689 Budapest MTI in English 1813 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—The first National Conference of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Reform Circles drew to an end with a general meeting in Szeged on Sunday morning. About 3,000 spectators turned up to attend the meeting held at the open air stage in Ujszeged, including State Ministers Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay, and Pal Vastagh, first secretary of the Csongrad County party committee, members of the HSWP Political Committee.

On the basis of the Saturday plenary sessions, as well as the work done by the five sections, the editing committee worked out the draft of the platform. Accordingly, Imre Nagy, founding member of the HSWP, lawful prime minister of Hungary in 1956, was a victim of a trial on trumped-up charges. The National Conference of the HSWP Reform Circles would like to request the forgiveness of his relatives on behalf of the persons who were responsible, and proposes that the HSWP Central Committee pass a position in this spirit before the June 16 funeral. Reform circles also want to be represented at the burial of Imre Nagy and his associates.

In the draft of the platform, the reformers state the HSWP should be converted from a cadre party into a Marxist and leftist collective party, borrowing from the values of socialist movements and bourgeois progress of the 20th century. It must break away from democratic centralism and build on total party democracy. The reform circles also ask for changing the name of the party, and the new name should reflect the democratic socialist character of the renewed party.

Rezso Nyers also contributed to the general meeting. He pointed out that it was not a revolution that was required, but a structural reform with a revolutionist spirit and carried out with revolutionary boldness. He agreed that "state socialism" should be replaced by a new type of socialism that would allow for a market economy, the free expression of people's views, a multiparty system based on a system of representation, and autonomous free action. Besides the determining socialist values, some bourgeois values, such as the freedom of the individual and the citizen should also be included.

The state minister says the reform circles are right in their demand for a general and objective analysis by the HSWP of the 1956 tragedy. Our future goals require that we learn from the political lessons of 1956 to surpass this tragedy in the spirit of national reconciliation. It is in the public interest to see clearly what happened in the case of Imre Nagy and his associates and try to make amends if there was any offence against the law—which seems to be the case, Mr Nyers said.

Then he proceeded to say that the HSWP decided to share the power, since that is the only way to solve the current difficulties of the country. Every force should be allowed to negotiate about the fate of the nation, but they should embark on these negotiations with an unbiassed approach holding no preconceived conditions. The HSWP should make it clear that it wishes to conduct negotiations seeking national reconciliation and a consensus, and it would do its utmost to realize them.

On the question whether there should be a party congress or a party conference, he points out no matter which one the membership chooses it should result in a brave manifesto. He would acept the idea of a party congress. This, however, should not aim to increase the internal conflict of the party and the fight between the members, but unity and a common effort to solve the problems.

The next speaker was Imre Pozsgay. He considers the existence of the reform circles a promising sign. This movement within the party shows that the HSWP has a massive support for sober and realistic politics and moral commitment. The reform circles are unfolding movements that provide the humane side of the HSWP, based on self-review and going beyond to the former organizational framework. With the help of the reform circles and the transformation of the structure of the party—the authentic and legitimate course of which might be a congress—the adjustment to the multi-party system could be accelerated surpassing the former specific sense of calling.

At the same time, he warned that a movement that tried to adopt all kinds of tendencies would lose its profile and integrity and eventually become unacceptable. We should at last get accustomed to the fact that the justification of politics should not be sought in theories, but in the people, Mr Pozsgay said.

He proceeded to say that "Seeking national reconciliation also implies that the ten and half million citizens living on an area of 93,000 square kilometres feel responsible for 15 million Hungarians. We should not forget anyone, no matter if he is citizen of another country, if he or she considers him or herself Hungarian. The struggle for the nation can be fought in many ways, but the best and most important way is to show that it is worth living in Hungary. The basis of the relations between the HSWP and the opposition, the independent and alternative movements, the parties and the would-be parties, should be a responsibility for the future of the Hungarian nation."

Pozsgay News Conference

LD2105190789 Budapest MTI in English 1608 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—On Saturday night, Imre Pozsgay and Pal Vastagh held an international press conference. Most of the journalists asked if Mr Pozsgay agreed that an extraordinary party congress should be held in November and that the date of the elections be brought forward. The state minister said he was now considering the difference between a party conference and an advanced congress, yet the fact that the majority of the party membership and the official party bodies call for a party congress cannot be ignored. This question will probably be discussed by the session of the Central Committee next week. Mr Pozsgay maintains the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] alone cannot designate the date of the elections, and it is not in its interest to enter the elections with weak parties as its opposition, as this would lead nowhere and the crisis of legitimation would continue.

He says he considers the future HSWP to become a party suitable not merely for negotiations but also for victory. In its present state the party could not win at the elections. The party should work out its manifesto for the elections to be presented to the public not by party officials but authentic politicians. A party preparing for elections should pass the most authentic decisions possible at its highest forum, the party congress, which should also accept its manifesto.

On the 1956 events and the related demand by a section of the conference of the political rehabilitation of Imre Nagy before his reburial, he said: He could understand the reformers' demand, but he would not approve that the section of the party that was not responsible for the 1956 events were made responsible for mistakes committed by some of its members.

He also said he did not like to make any conclusions in advance. So it seems reasonable that an examination by the chief public prosecutor should decide in this affair. He also recalled a statement by Imre Nagy's daughter that June 16, the day of Imre Nagy's funeral, should be a day of national reconciliation.

Szuros Favors Full Rehabilitation of Imre Nagy

LD2105213489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly, in a statement to Italian Television, has taken a stand in support of the full legal and political rehabilitation of Imre Nagy. One of the Italian television channels broadcast a 40-minute-long report on Hungary and it was on this program that the speaker of the National Assembly was interviewed. According to Matyas Szuros, the transition to parliamentary democracy and poltical pluralism goes hand in hand with the obligation to give an account of the blank spots of the past, and time has past for uttering half-truths.

Grosz Views Opposition Roundtable Position

AU1905123089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 May 89 p 1

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz by D.K.: "The MSZMP Is Awaiting an Answer—Karoly Grosz Interviewed on Position of the Opposition Roundtable"—date, place not given]

[Text] At its meeting on 8 May, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee drafted a proposal on the establishment of a political coordination forum. This MSZMP position was made necessary by the current situation: It has become obvious that we need new political impulses. The MSZMP proposal based on such considerations is aimed at establishing a forum that will be suitable for discussing the major issues determined by the participant organizations. Shortly after the proposal, in their television statements, representatives of the opposition roundtable spoke negatively about the proposal. The official position of the opposition roundtable also contains conclusions according to which the MSZMP has unilaterally broken the negotiations. This document also calls upon the MSZMP representatives to prepare for bilateral negotiations within 48 hours.

We asked Karoly Grosz about the way the party received these statements.

[Grosz] Lack of understanding and misunderstandings are abundant nowadays. This manifestation is also part of such matters. Our experiences during the negotiations show that our partners have rather strong doubts that we are negotiating with honest, correct, and clean intentions. In fact, these doubts are the continuation of a habit. Prior to the Central Committee meeting, we sent our position to every organization and every force being organized into a party, and asked them to answer it. Today we have received an answer from one organization. We have not yet received answers from the others. So we are still waiting. The party leadership will formulate its final position once it has those answers.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Thus, you regard the "ultimatum" of 48 hours as the position of the persons involved?

[Grosz] I stress that we have not yet received official answers. Spokesmen of various organizations and movements, as well as the heads of some well-known organizations, did speak up, but we do not regard this as the official answer of those parties and organizations. We are still waiting for such an official answer.

Grosz Meets Austrian Economic Chamber President

LD1805224389 Budapest MTI in English 1754 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 18 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met on Thursday Rudolf Sallinger, president of the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber. Also present at the meeting was Andras Gabor, president of the Hungarian Chamber of commerce.

Nemeth Meets Defense Ministry Commanders

LD1905145389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Miklos Nemeth is attending the conference of Defense Ministry commanders. Jozsef Orosz reports.

[Orosz] According to the prime minister, Hungary's economic situation makes a 10-billion forint reduction in armed forces funding justified and possible. This is some 4.5 billion more than contained in the government's package. Miklos Nemeth told the People's Army commanders that the reduction also serves to change the Hungarian People's Army.

The Hungarian Army should be primarily of a defensive character. It is no accident that Miklos Nemeth announced: It is especially important to talk about this now, because the [word indistinct] dangers of 16 June [the planned date for the reburial of the remains of Imre Nagy and associates] and 23 October are still ahead of us. Then he said: It could be an important gauge of our coming of age if we get through these days with the same social cooperation as in the case of last year's demonstration related to village demolition.

Interviewed on Army's Role

LD1905212689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 19 May 89

[Interview with Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, by correspondent Jozsef Orosz, after meeting with Hungarian Army commanders on 19 May—recorded]

[Text] [Orosz] Why did you think it important to draw attention, precisely in the Hungarian People's Army, to the dangers of next 16 June and 23 October? Does this mean that you have a role in mind for the Army in dealing with tasks?

[Nemeth] Well, it is the duty of the Army and every other force which has the task of defending constitutional order and preserving legality, to maintain public order, security, and calm. We must carry out this kind of internal policy, and in this we must commence before all else the preparations for the burial of Imre Nagy scheduled for 16 June, which will serve consensus, settlement, and conciliation.

[Orosz] Can the Hungarian People's Army have a role in this?

[Nemeth] Politics and the government must have a role. The People's Army must have a role in this so that, for example, roads will be guaranteed if needed by the police—well, we are not talking about the Army now. The role is not such that if some people start up and want

to declare something, shout something, then the Army strikes there quickly—they have no such intention. We are governed by one intention, to advance toward consensus.

[Orosz] We already know that the government package plan contains a reduction in defense expenditure of 5-5.5 billion forints. In front of the Army commanders you spoke about a reduction of 10 billion. In reality, how much will you reduce the home defense and military expenditures, and in what distribution?

[Nemeth] The 10 billion measure I spoke about can be connected with a new defense security policy doctrine, namely with the one that in the coming years we have to work out as a concept—a smaller but better equipped Army structure and organization with more striking power, if you like, with more striking power.

[Orosz] Can I make the mathematical calculation that according to the Nemeth government's ideas, the total defense expenditures are desired to be reduced by around 15 billion?

[Nemeth] I can neither confirm nor deny this now, because the studies which, I emphasize, the favorable international military policy conditions have created and make possible as well as the economic situation we are necessarily confronting, are still before us.

[Orosz] I think that you outlined these figures, or made your declaration at a very good moment, because more and more is being said about whether the Hungarian Army is capable of a military coup, or a military seizure of power. I say this because this week Erno Kemenes [chairman of National Planning Office] said that with the reduction in defense expenditures, the internal organs will reach the limit of their operational capability. Is it possible that the Hungarian Army too, with this package plan, will reach the limit of its operational capacity? So, will you remove the sting?

[Nemeth] No. We see and consider that the operational capacity of the Hungarian People's Army is guaranteed, even after these reductions. We do not wish to do anything that would put this at risk. The Army stands on the side of the reforms. No kind of state of emergency or military seizure of power crops up as a realistic question in the leadership and ranks of the Army. This is considered as a kind of provocation, which they reject.

Pozsgay Speaks at Forum While Visiting Vienna

LD1805133489 Budapest MTI in English
0904 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Vienna, May 18 (MTI)—State Minister Imre Pozgay, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Political Committee, delivered a lecture on Hungarian political reform on Wednesday evening, as organized by the Renner Institute, in care of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPD), in conclusion of his visit to Vienna.

SPD Vice-Chairman Heinz Fisher, leader of the parliamentary faction of the party made the introductory address.

Imre Pozsgay says, among other things, that in spite of their failure, earlier Hungarian attempts at reform are vital chapters of the HSWP's history, but the real turning-point came in the wake of the May party conference last year. The political reform under way ever since has been based on the tolerance and introspection of the HSWP. Without this, there would be no overcoming the crisis brought about by the present system. Acting admittedly under social pressure, the HSWP has reached the recognition of its own accord.

Mr Pozsgay said the main objective of Hungary's current experiment to bring about political reform lies in converting the members of society from the passive objects of power into its active wielders, from servants of the state into autonomous citizens.

Answering questions, Mr Pozsgay also touched upon the processes in Hungary in the sixties and seventies. He said the undoubtedly successful policy aimed at providing welfare for the people tried to substitute the people as political factor, short of genuine consensus it had to be satisfied with receiving collaboration from the people in exchange for improving living standards. For a while after 1956, this policy seems to have served the consolidation process, but it should have stopped when it began to lose its material basis and economy began to slide into crisis. With the foreign loans used to finance this welfare policy the then leadership was basically 'buying off' social support to postpone thereby the fundamental transformations of the system.

In reply to another question, Mr Pozsgay said that turning back to a Stalinist model has no social support in Hungary today, since the possible representatives of such an effort—unlike a few years after the 1968 economic reform—have now no better living standards to offer to the people, and their ideas will not allow them to promise greater freedom.

On the 1968 Czechoslovak events, Mr Pozsgay said the predecessors at that time had marched into Czechoslovakia and now their reformist successors have to provide the explanation. He said the HSWP would have good chances at the coming elections only if it could adequately review its past.

Another question went as follows: If Hungary had had to consult with Moscow before each important measure, will not now Washington take over Moscow's part? The reply of the state minister threw a light on the special

conditions characterizing relations between small countries and the great powers. He also added: 'Hungarian politicians have liked to go to Moscow for consult these days, as they received encouragement for thier reform endeavours. But they will also visit Washington, moreover, the U.S. President will soon pay a visit to Hungary.'

Nyers Receives Social Democratic Delegation

AU1905102989 Budapest MTI in English 1938 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 17/05/1989—A delegation from the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) visited Budapest from May 16-17 at the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee.

The delegation was led by Hans Koschnik, MP, member of the SPD Presidium and chairman of the International Relations Committee.

The delegation met Rezso Nyers, member of the HSWP Political Committee and minister of state.

The SPD politicians held talks with Geza Kotai, head of the International Party Relations Department of the HSWP Central Committee, Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, and Gyula Thurmer, foreign policy advisor to the HSWP general secretary. The delegation also met with representatives of several alternative organizations.

Defense Minister Karpati on Workers Militia

AU1905162389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 May 89 p 6

[Interview with Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati by E.A.: "The Workers Militia Complies With the Government"—in parliament, on 11 May]

[Text] The position of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee on 8 May represents the beginning of a new era in the management and operation of the workers militia. The highest party body has revoked its previous decision on the party guidance of the workers militia, and asked the chairman of the Council of Ministers to prepare and publish a new regulation about these armed forces. One can also say that, by this, the workers militia has been nationalized.

Thus, from now on, this armed force of 60,000 members will function under the management of the government, including the Defense Ministry. We asked Ferenc Karpati about the way his ministry received this decision?

[Karpati] An organizational solution according to which, in addition to the regular army, a voluntary body of armed forces also makes up an integral part of the country's defense, a solution very well known abroad, has not yet been used in Hungary. The training and management of this body and, God forbid, its preparation for war should be coordinated with the operation of the regular army. This does not mean that, from now on, the workers militia will automatically function according to the model of the regular army. However, some changes will have to be made: The workers militia will have to be exempted from certain obligations, like guarding institutions or cooperating in larger events. On the other hand, this body should be made suitable for other functions, like preventing natural catastrophes, a function similar to that of the citizens' defense forces, or defending the dangerous enterprises that have recently increased in number.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] I presume you have gathered information about the extent to which the composition, training, and physical state of this voluntary body are suitable for these tasks?

[Karpati] The question is justified! Indeed, we should also consider these aspects! We are talking here about mostly ex-servicemen, and therefore, I think most of them are suitable for this task. At the same time, there are quite a number of women among these people, and one can find suitable tasks for them too.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] According to slightly extremist views, the workers militia is mentioned as the party's private army. Some people even regard this body as the potential armed force basis of a return to the previous political situation, and this can be a great danger for a pluralist society. Could the current organizational changes dissipate this concern?

[Karpati] Let there be no misunderstanding: The workers militia will continue to be an independent body, and their management by the government will not change this status either.... I am also aware of the aforementioned concern, and I also understand its origins. The workers militia was created in 1957, under the well-known historical circumstances. If we had carried out the current reorganization earlier, this concern would have not even emerged, but I do not think that this concern is well founded. I myself know many workers militia members who support the current changes and I think that this organization can also find its place in a pluralist society. All the more so, because, at least in my view, it would be a pity to disband such a community forged together through work, study, and personal contacts in the wake of unfounded fears.

Soviet Troop, Materiel Withdrawal Continues

Tank Unit Departs

LD1905181489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] [Presenter] When the Soviet troop withdrawal began a few weeks ago in Kiskunhalas, even U.S television companies attended the event. I do not know who

reported on today's troop withdrawal in Sarbogard. However, what is certain is that Gyula Horvath represented "Evening Magazine" there.

[Horvath] There was a farewell ceremony, with music, in Sarbogard today for the 141st Soviet Tank Regiment, which will be disbanded after it returns home, thereby leaving fewer soldiers in our country, and thus in Europe, as well. The Hungarian and international press, as well as the foreign military attaches were present at the festive meeting of the force.

Colonel (Boris Adamenko), deputy chief of staff of the Southern Army Group, emphasized that in the spirit of the defensive doctrine, a zone of confidence 100-km wide was being formed in Hungary, and for this reason troops were being transferred from the western part of Transdanubia to the center of the country. Thus, artillerymen from the western border are moving into the now-vacated tank crew barracks.

This year, 10,000 Soviet soldiers are being withdrawn from Hungary. After Kiskunhalas, the tank operators have now left Sarbogard. There were 54 T-64 tanks, along with their 600-strong crew.

Soviet Armored Regiment Leaves

LD1905222689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 19 May 89

[Excerpts] More Soviet armored troops have left Hungary for home. [passage omitted]

From Debrecen, an armored training regiment set off. Both armored regiments will be dissolved, but neither Hungarian nor Soviet barracks will remain empty because soldiers will be transferred from western Transdanubia. This year 15,000 [as heard] Soviet soldiers, 450 tanks, 300 artillery, and trench mortars, and several thousand motor vehicles will leave Hungary.

MTI Assesses Hungarian Relations With CSSR

LD1905220389 Budapest MTI in English 2024 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 19 (MTI)—Hungarian-Czechoslovak contacts are characterized by an extensive system of relations and close cooperation in several areas. The highest-level meetings have always figured prominently in the fostering of these. In the last year, the visit to Hungary of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and of Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, to Prague were the most prominent elements of bilateral exchanges. The visit of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth to Prague on May 24 will be another station of political relations which deserves special attention.

The prime ministerial meeting is held at a time when the good neighbourly relations are also burdened by debated issues. This can be considered natural, as transformation is on the agenda in both countries, but neither administration professes, or can profess, inerrancy as its own. In the information field, tension arose over the interview with Dubcek, and the presentation of the situation of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia. And most recently, the decision of the Hungarian Government on May 13, the suspension of the Nagymaros works gave rise to incomprehension in the Czechoslovak partners. This is why high-level, reciprocal information and dialogue can be useful, the problems can be settled in a reassuring manner to both sides only in this way.

Economy is a determining element of the diverse relations. Czechoslovakia stands 6th line among Hungary's foreign trade partners, sharing 5.5-6 per cent from the total Hungarian turnover. Modern forms are not, as yet, determining in cooperation. However, agricultural cooperation is developing successfully, the Hungarian production systems are widely applied in Czechoslovakia. Internal trade exchange of assortment shows a prominent growth, and is expected to be valued at 400 million roubles.

Tourism is a major field of relations: 3.5 million Czechoslovak citizens visited Hungary in 1988, and 4.7 million Hungarians travelled to Czechoslovakia. Minority relations form an organic part of cooperation. Of the countries that neighbour Hungary, minority cooperation is handled on the level of inter-state relations only with Czechoslovakia. A separate article of the cultural agreement sets down: 'The contracting parties support cooperation in the ensurance of the cultural development of the citizens of the Hungarian and the Slovak minority living in their countries.'

Gyula Horn Interviewed on Barrage Project

LD2005200489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] As one reads the press of the neighboring countries, our domestic and foreign policy measures are given increasingly passionate reactions, indeed one hears things to the effect that, for example, the decision regarding Nagymaros or the exacerbation of the Romanian-Hungarian dispute, is nothing other than a means to exasperate the socialist countries that follow another line. Foreign Minister Gyula Horn replies to the auxieties that Peter Zentai conveyed to him:

[Begin recording] [Zentai] Not long ago I was staying in a socialist country and an influential official of an international organization said the following—I shall quote him verbatim. He said: We—that is the socialist camp—are paddling in one boat, and it is impossible to get out of this boat. You Hungarians want to get out, but it will not work. I am curious about how you would have reacted to this if you had been in my place.

[Horn] Look, of course it is a fact that the changes in Hungary are so quick and farreaching that our allies are unable to follow us in everything, or they do not understand our train of thought in everything. This is natural but, otherwise, this has nothing whatsoever to do with this so-called common boat.

[Zentai] So we do not want to get out.

[Horn] [Word indistinct] well, the kind of internal political processes that are taking place in a member country is not a matter of alliance affiliation. To leave the alliance or to not leave it—Hungarian official policy has a stand on this. We have stated already that on the one hand we do not want to arouse any doubt that we might want to leave the alliance system, or that we might want to weaken our relations with the alliance system. At the same time, do not want to make a secret out of wanting to modernize the functioning of the Warsaw Pact as an organization, or also wanting to modernize relations between the member states.

[Zentai] Here, for example, is the question of the suspension of the Nagymaros project which is an unprecedented step in relations between socialist countries, or at least there was no example of this in the past decades in Eastern Europe. And I say frankly that I am astonished that you, the foreign minister, or Premier Miklos Nemeth did not go to Prague before the decision was made public, and you did not consult with the Czechoslovak leaders.

[Horn] When the decision came about, that evening I summoned both the Czechoslovak ambassador and the Austrian ambassador here in Budapest—both of them together. I informed both of them of the government's decision that day. I asked them to convey this to their headquarters, with the proviso that we would subsequently begin substantive talks with both the Czechoslovak and the Austrian side. In accordance with this, Miklos Nemeth will visit Prague in the middle of next week to hold discussions (?at prime ministerial level). In regard to the Czechoslovak reaction, I consider it understandable that it is a matter of not a small, but a very large investment, to which tangible economic and other interests are attached. Naturally, the Slovak or Czechoslovak governments are not pleased at such a decision having been reached. However, we have not received any kind of indication from Prague or Bratislava that they might not be willing to hold talks about the further fate of the water barrage system. As I have mentioned, this is why Miklos Nemeth is traveling to Prague; after that, further discussions will also be necessary. I am certain that the two premiers will come to agreement on this.

[Zentai] Why are you so certain that they will come to agreement?

[Horn] If it is a question of implementing a bilateral agreement, and if one side has grave troubles or concerns in connection with the agreement, then at the minimum the other side should hold talks on this. Then, as regards what the final result of the agreement will be, this cannot be predicted.

[Zentai] Yet, my impression is that, and you obviously will not agree with me, the issue at hand here is a political one—namely th clash of two political lines. I, at least, attribute symbolic significance to this Hungarian Government decision, and in fact, it was given prominence in the justification of the government's advisory body that it is necessary to break with a certain type of political decisionmaking mechanism, one of whose results was this project.

[Horn] One, it is doubtless that the current government reached this decision, that the government of 5-6 years ago would not have acted so, according to such concepts. Why would it not have acted so? Because it would not have taken into account public opinion in such a wideranging manner. In this sense, politically, the stand taken by public opinion prompted the government to examine things again and again. At the same time, the basic motive for the decision reached at the extraordinary session on 13 May was ecological uncertainties.

[Zentai] Nevertheless, my feeling is that the Czechoslovaks perceive the whole thing as the Hungarian Government having made a concession to the opposition, just as Romania believes—and it wants to increasingly disclose this to world public opinion, especially to the other socialist countries—that the Hungarian Government has wavered. Indeed, according to a Spanish newspaper report, Romania would like to convene an extraordinary session of the Warsaw Pact in order to discuss Hungarian affairs.

[Horn] According to the Spanish paper—and others also reported it—the Romanian side proposed that an extraordinary meeting of the Warsaw Pact be convened to discuss the conditions in Hungary; (?if this is so,) it is entirely contrary to the Warsaw Pact.

[Zentai] However, the issue here is much more important, namely that there is anxiety in Romania, and in other socialist countries, that the system in Hungary is in danger, and this is what they want to discuss. There has been an example within the Warsaw Pact, that if the system is seen to be endangered somewhere, then there is, indeed, a so-called intervention there.

[Horn] Naturally, such a thing has happened—it is not happening now, but it has happened, most recently in 1968. There has been no such thing since 1968, for 21 years. Yet, the Soviet leadership and policy was different then.

[Zentai] At the international party conference recently held in Budapest, at the news conference the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party representative said that the issue of Transylvania and the Hungarian-Romanian relationship carries the inherent danger of conflict. It is heard these days that we must be concerned about some kind of armed conflict with Romania.

[Horn] The fate of the Magyars living in Transylvania is not only, and not primarily, a matter of the Hungarian-Romanian relationship commitments in connection with the signing of various agreements. There are many problems among the European states that can become especially sharp in a given period. But this does not mean that any of the European states might want to resolve these conflicts by means of arms.

[Zentai] Do you not suspect something else behind the Romanian measures? For example, do you think it conceivable that if Romania perceives that nothing is happening in its interest, it would announce that it is leaving the Warsaw Pact?

[Horn] I do not know what the Romanian leadership is thinking. By the way, regarding leaving the Warsaw Pact, every member state in principle, legally and in practice, has the right to leave.

[Zentai] In any event, such a step would be rewarded in the West, would it not?

[Horn] I do not think so, because it is also in the basic interest of the West to preserve the balance of forces between the two military-political blocs. Reponsible persons have spoken about this at very important, responsible forums.

[Zentai] I surmise that henceforth you, not only in foreign policy thinking, but otherwise, are banking on Gorbachev's political victory. Why are you certain of this victory?

[Horn] I would say, rather, that we basically have an interest in the victory of this Gorbachev line.

[Zentai] Exactly; we have an interest in it. Only I do not know whether there is an alternative in the Hungarian Government's knapsack if the Gorbachev camp is not successful.

[Horn] There is currently a lot of uncertainty, and in the economic sphere (?there are points) where progress is not as it should be. This not only hampers the entire process, but it curbs, or slows down this process. However, in spite of the difficulties, I believe that the system of political practice of the former period, primarily the Stalinist period, will never come back in the Soviet Union, no matter what happens. This society, Soviet society, simply would not tolerate it.

[Zentai] Yes, but regardless of this, Soviet foreign policy, in its capacity for tolerance, is finite, and there are big-power interests. At the moment it appears that these big-power interests are being pushed to the background because of the internal troubles, but how long will this last, and when will the point come when it is said in the Soviet Union that the Hungarian picture now taking shape does not fit Soviet big-power interests?

[Horn] It is difficult to predict this. I do not know where the limit to big-power interests lies. But I can say one thing: While previously, big-power interests appeared quite forcefully in Soviet foreign policy thinking and practice, at present this is not the basic issue. Two things: One is that the Soviet Union should close ranks with Europeanness, with the European way of thinking and practice. This, in itself, means that international issues, relations, and problems cannot be approached on the basis of prestige. This could mean a radical change in their previous conception. The other thing is that the Soviet Union is a power, still an enormous power, but at the same time it does not want to maintain a worldwide presence, as it has in previous years.

[Zentai] What would happen if the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States were to come to an agreement in connection with Eastern Europe, so that, like a promise was made in the Yalta agreements, the internal affairs of the East European countries do not pertain to the Soviet Union, and that merely the rightful defense requirements of the Soviet Union must be taken into account?

[Horn] The latter is a more precise formulation—that within the Warsaw Pact there is a very effective division of labor, both as regards the armed forces and the means necessary to maintain them. Thus, we should maintain this division of labor. In this sense, the Soviet Union and the other member states have a security interest in connection with Hungary and we sometimes forget this. Everything else is the internal matter of the given country. What does this mean in practice? It means that belonging to the bloc does not preclude our developing the closest possible relations with the NATO member states, including NATO's and West Europe's various [word indistinct] organizations, or developing bilateral relations....

[Zentai, interrupting] As yet there are no legal guarantees for this. In order to do this, it would be necessary to create international legal guarantees so that Hungary should be able to pursue such activity freely. This appears now to stem from the Soviet Union, in its current situation, not being able to have a say in this.

[Horn] Excuse me, it is not exactly like that. Namely, the statutes, the charter of the Warsaw Pact do not contain any kind of passage referring to the member countries not being able to conclude bilateral of multilateral agreements with outsiders.

[Zentai] Yes, only the historical precedents show that it is possible to interpret these clauses in different ways. After all, there was a military intervention in Czechoslovakia.

[Horn] All right, but it was not the current leadership that did it. The current leadership, precisely in the person of Gorbachev, has disassociated itself from the 1956 and the 1968 interventions. Of course, persons and leaders interpret every agreement in different ways in different periods.

[Zentai] And the leaders could change, in the future too....

[Horn, interrupting] Look, it is not only the persons and leaders who change, but the world as well. It is of enormous satisfaction, or, how should I put it, support that in this, we think in full identity with the Soviet colleagues, and we are trying to step in the same direction. I am not prompted to say this out of some loyalty to the Soviet Union, but the consideration of realities leads me to do so. [end recording]

Delegation To Negotiate Nagymaros 'Amendment'
LD1905143389 Budapest MTI in English
1333 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 19 (MTI)—On behalf of the groups urging the abandonment of the Nagymaros project, a goodwill delegation is to leave for Vienna on Monday to negotiate a mutually acceptable amendment, the organizers told a press conference in Budapest on Thursday.

There was also mention of the opposition roundtable's and the Danube movements' planned rally on May 26 at 5 p.m. outside parliament.

Janos Vargha and Andras Szekfu, board members of the Danube circle, said that during their two-day trip, the goodwill delegation, which includes MPs, representatives of the opposition roundtable and the environmental movements as well as financial and energetic experts, would be visiting various Austrian parties, two financing banks, experts from two large construction companies participating in the project, and environmentalists. On Tuesday a press conference is to be given on the outcome of the talks.

A delegation of a similar set-up is to be sent to Bratislava and Prague, but no concrete steps have yet been taken in this direction.

Spokesman on Romanian Initiative, Nagymaros
LD1905035489 Budapest MTI in English
2227 GMT 18 May 89

["Government Spokesman's Briefing"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 18 (MTI)—At the international press conference held following the May 18 session of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, journalists were first briefed about the resolutions on the price raises. In the following, Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi said that the government discussed the thesis of the three-year programme to streamline the tax system. At present, taxes account for 10-11 per cent of the total income of the population, however, no possibilities exist to reduce this. This is the lowest tax level in Europe. In answer to a question, Mr Bekesi said that the bill which decrees on the securities market, the rules and operation of the securities stock exchange is expected to be submitted to parliament in the second half of the year. According to the intentions of the government, the law on securities wishes to extensively liberalize the purchasing of shares by private persons which also means that it frees the value of the shares.

The press report, according to which Romania wishes to initiate that the Warsaw Treaty discuss the issues related to the Hungarian democratization, was also discussed at the press conference. Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan said that although the Hungarian Government has no official knowledge that such an initiative had been made, it has difficulty believing that the Warsaw Treaty would interfere into the internal affairs of the individual member countries, those times have passed. The Hungarian-Romanian problems, as has been declared by the Hungarian Government on several occasions, should be settled at bilateral talks.

In connection with the government resolution on suspending Nagymaros construction, the spokesman said: He has no information that an international court would decide in a possible Hungarian-Czechoslovak compensation case. The practice in the CMEA is for the sides to decide debates of this type between each other.

Control Commission Adopts Guidelines for MSZMP
LD1905085289 Budapest MTI in English
2150 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 18 (MTI)—The Central Control Commission of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] held a session on May 18, under the chairmanship of Janos Lukacs. On the basis of extensive consultations, it formulated its position:

1. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party should become an organized, mass party which represents the national interests, and enforces these by taking the international realities into consideration.
2. The renewing party needs a new programme which also includes the reform of the property system.
3. The social role of the HSWP changes. Amidst multiparty relations, the HSWP should naturally strive to enforce its goals and intentions in governmental work and in all other areas, in the possession of the widest possible social support, with political means.
4. The HSWP should change its conduct with respect to the opposition. It should attain, with political means, that its position and views appear in an effective manner in publicity.

5. A new-type, generally approved organizational and operational order should be enforced in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and the Central Control Commission recommends that when working out the new organizational and operational rules, it take into consideration: the creation and clashing of platforms is a natural state of the party, therefore the interpretation of party unity and party discipline differ from that in the past.
6. The main points in the efforts of the reform circles being organized within the HSWP coincide with the party's guideline. In general, they launch healthy processes.
7. The freedom of opinion that is emerging and intensifying within the HSWP cannot lead to the exclusiveness of certain views, to the creation of another monolithic unity set up with ostracism and violence. The party needs a unified leadership, the party members a strategy that can be followed and a tactic which fits into this.
8. Compliance with the laws and the moral rules will continue to be a fundamental demand towards the members and leaders of the party. Unfortunately, several party members in leading posts can be reprimanded as they abused their position, acquired unlawful, and morally objectable advantages. They should be called to account. However, those who are groundlessly accused or slandered should be protected.
9. The party membership cannot be held responsible for the political errors of the party leadership.
10. Critically analyzing its own activity, too, the Central Control Commission holds it necessary that the content and form of its work also change. In accordance with the democratic fundamental principles, it should fully realize its independence from the Central Committee and other leading bodies of the party.
11. The Central Control Commission holds it justified that the Central Committee summoned the national conference of the party for the autumn of 1989. Its position is that the accumulated tensions can be successfuly resolved only in the course of preparation, then at the national party forum of the delegates elected in a democratic manner.

People's Party Official on Program, Tasks

AU1905111789 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 May 89 p 5

[Interview with Janos Marton, member of the organizational committee of the Hungarian People's Party, by Laszlo Nagy Csaszar: "On the Program of the Hungarian People's Party—There Is a Third Way Too"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Csaszar] Nowadays, an increasing number of independent organizations are recognizing that Hungary's future depends on the countryside, and the proportion of votes mainly depends on the defenseless "silent Hungary" which the reform has not yet touched. The party capable of winning the support of the countryside could have considerable advantages in the elections.

[Marton] This is indeed so, but reality is much more complex. The fact that most of the organizations are able to formulate their village programs only on the level of peasant demagogy also contributes to the silence in the villages. Nowadays, many people are coming to the villages again—agents as well as former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] functionaries—to embrace the peasants. Today, everyone has set the task of saving the peasantry, and has put this task on his banner. Some of these people say that they did not come earlier because they would have been jailed for this. These are false statements, because villagers know that those who have the courage would have been able to help them even when there was no real democracy. [passage omitted]

Village people say that they rely only on people who are capable of speaking up in their interest, who have a moral basis for this, and who have political courage for this under any circumstances. [passage omitted]

The Hungarian villages do not have confidence in agitators who "drive down" from Budapest. According to village people, people whom they know closely are the ones they trust, and not people about whom they hear only rumors.

[Csaszar] A considerable part of the middle-aged generation in villages, at least those who showed a readiness for action, have committed themselves to the MSZMP.

[Marton] The fact that the most dynamic people, when they did not find any other alternative, indeed drew close to the MSZMP is something that is also a particular feature of Hungary. However, I can also see that quite a lot of these people lived their party life with a rather modest ideological commitment. [passage omitted]

The Hungarian people's party differs from the other parties in that it openly accepts the priority of the village and agricultural interests. Therefore, we count not only on the agricultural workers but also on the intellectuals working in the food industry, the agricultural machinery industry, and the agrochemical industry, people whose livelihood depends on agricultural development. [passage omitted]

One of the essential elements of our program is that a representational county should replace the current paternalistic county, because some counties are local trustees of the country's leadership. This is alien to our thinking. [passage omitted]

It is unfortunate that nowadays development concentrates too much on the capital city, and here most people participate in the political organizations. Therefore, the democracy currently developing in Hungary is a little unbalanced. The smaller a settlement, the stronger and tougher the representation of power there. Therefore,

our party's demand to let every settlement choose its own police commander on the basis of tenders is not accidental. [passage omitted]

[Csaszar] These are long-term aims, and what are your daily tasks?

[Marton] I will mention just a few. It is essential that the agricultural sector regain its former position in the budget, a position it obtained at the beginning of this decade. We are struggling for the abolition of the current tax system, because this only increases the defenselessness of our villages. We claim that village independence should be restored. An increasing amount of agricultural produce should remain in the area where it is produced. Experience over many thousands of years shows that those who produce these products are most capable of responsibly deciding on the fate of these values. Only this way can the community supervise public money. [passage omitted]

Trade Union General Secretary on Role, Strikes

AU1705100489 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 17 May 89 p 23

[Unattributed interview with Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council: "Trade Union: 'We Are Not a Power Transmission Belt'"—date, place not given]

[Text] DER STANDARD: The Hungarian trade unions have caused excitement: They have achieved a completely new right to strike and they have forced the government to annul unpopular measures. Mr Nagy, as trade union head you come from the party's youth movement. It would be astonishing if you were to say you learned toughness there!

Nagy: We are no longer dealing with economic organization in general, we do not hold a competition between workers, we only concentrate on tasks of representing interests.

End of the Stalinist Model

We have given up the Stalinist trade union model: We are not a power transmission belt. To date the trade union has been closely interlaced with power regarding both personnel and organization. The future of the Hungarian trade unions can be imagined only from a non-party and no longer subordinate position.

DER STANDARD: How can one understand the representation of interests in a one-party system—or is there a development toward a multiparty system in this field, too?

Nagy: In the future, we will measure everything against the degree to which it influences the chances of the working people. We have to ignore indefinable political auxiliary motives. In the future, the Hungarian trade unions will be more similar to the Austrian Trade Union Federation than to the Hungarian trade union of the past.

DER STANDARD: This presupposes the unity of the trade unions....

Nagy: I think that all parties will try to exercise influence on the trade unions. The interests of the Hungarian working people would require the trade union movement not to split up.

Wasteful Theory of Low Wages

DER STANDARD: What does the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) say to the renewal of the trade union?

Nagy: If the MSZMP is serious about introducing a multiparty system in Hungary, it has to take the independence of the trade unions seriously. So far, we have not seen any step by the MSZMP against this new concept of trade unions.

DER STANDARD: Can this perhaps be explained by the fact that a Communist Party that has been pushed into a defensive position considers the modern trade union as a guarantor of the reforms?

Nagy: Our attitude in the past was too understanding: We accepted the theory of low wages—this led to the wasteful management of labor.

DER STANDARD: What do the members of your trade union say, those who to date have been able to see only the dark side of a bungled model?

Nagy: They will support us only if they see the fruits of this policy. They have to feel that there is finally someone who takes care of their true interests.

Strikes in a Tragic Economic Situation?

DER STANDARD: You are touching upon very sensitive areas with the renewal of your trade union. Do you see the just codified right to strike as a real means for struggle in such a tragic economic situation?

Nagy: You have to understand that we live in a country which has not had any crisis management for decades, where the political culture necessary to settle conflicts has always been in scant supply. There is no doubt that a strike can be compared with a loaded gun. The trade unions do not want to cause a situation in which this weapon must be used. This does not mean that we will not use this weapon if the situation requires it!

If we cannot victoriously advocate our responsible standpoint in a critical situation and come to the opinion that sensible considerations have been exhausted, I cannot exclude strikes as a weapon.

I know that it is very dangerous to play with fire in a country full of tensions and considerable social problems. It is my clear wish that this situation will not arise.

Villagers Demonstrate Against Nuclear Waste Site

AU1705143089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 May 89 p 4

[Correspondent Tamas Ungar's report: "Protest Against the Nuclear Burial Site at Ofalu—4,000 Villagers Demonstrate"]

[Excerpts] Despite the cool and rainy weather on 7 May, almost 4,000 villagers demonstrated against the planned radioactive residue burial site near Ofalu, Feked, and Vemend. The participants came to the site from three adjacent villages and listened to speakers from various environmental protection movements, alternative organizations, and from the local German national minority federation. Ferenc Weller, chairman of the joint county council of Mecseknadasd, Ofalu, and Obanya, pointed out that the local population had the right to decide on matters that affect them directly. He drew attention to the fact that national minorities were living in this area and, if the planned burial site is established here against their will, this could lead to a forced assimilation, because many people are expected to leave these villages. At the end of the peaceful demonstration, the participants formulated a resolution. [passage omitted]

The organizers held a news conference in the afternoon, at which we heard that the Paks nuclear power station had sent a letter to every citizen in the three villages in question in which the enterprise informed the people that the competent committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences did not find the site unsuitable as the projected burial site. [passage omitted]

New Periodicals Scheduled for Release

LD1805161589 Budapest MTI in English 1504 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 18 (MTI)—"HONPOLGAR" (CITIZEN), a twice-weekly magazine, is to be launched by Puski-Isis Ltd., with the first issue coming out on Friday.

The publishers told journalists that the newspaper would carry political and public information and travel advice.

The second issue will be featuring such itesms as the documents of the opposition roundtable and party appeals and manifestos.

It was also announced that the revived "SZABAD SZO" (FREE WORD) would appear on June 9 or 10. 30,000 copies will be printed of this political weekly of the Hungarian people's party.

A digest of articles from the quarterly "UJ LATOHATAR" (NEW HORIZONS), a periodical for emigrants published in Munich, will shortly be going on sale. The publishers wish to introduce the quarterly into Hungary.

Kiszczak, Walesa View Accords; Urge 'Tolerance'

LD2005171589 Warsap PAP in English
1412 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 19—General Czeslaw Kiszczak and Lech Walesa co-chaired the meeting of the arbitration commission here today. Church representatives Father Bronislaw Dembowski and Father Edward Sobieraj were also present.

The participants spoke about implementation of the round table accords and the question of registration of the Independent Students' Union NZS.

The sides also got acquainted with the election campaign, once again expressing the will for the campaign to proceed in the spirit of tolerance and democratic political culture. The commission called on all political forces to do everything for the election process to become a significant stage on the road of shaping new democratic order in Poland.

Walesa Introduces Candidates, Addresses Rally

LD2005213789 Warsaw PAP in English
2026 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 20—At a pre-election rally in Bydgoszcz held today Lech Walesa introduced and personally backed local candidates for Sejm deputies and senators fielded by Solidarity. They are Roman Bartoszcze, Ryszard Helak, Ignacy Guenther, Andrzej Wybranski, Aleksander Paszynski and Antoni Tokarczuk.

Addressing the crowd, Walesa criticized the call by some opposition circles to cross out all candidates except for "our own people."

He said that voters should select from among the other candidates those people who fitted well with the time of reforms and who had been active in bringing about the "round table."

Urges Thoughtful Voting

LD2005225189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] We now go over to Bydgoszcz. Here is an excerpt of Lech Walesa's speech:

[Begin Walesa recording] We will try to do something in Poland, to make it the Poland of our dreams, our goals, our desires. We must, first of all, be honest with ourselves, we must pave the way together. One or the other side must compromise, so that there is greater understanding, so that we can proceed more quickly with solutions. There has never been in the history of Poland—and I have known it for over 40 years—such an opportunity. So much depends on all of us here.

Here and there I hear people say: We will cross out the names as they come. Well, ladies and gentlemen, it is wrong. It is wrong. This is what our people say: I will cross out the names carefully, one by one. Ladies and gentlemen: The 70 percent you elect will be important. It is important who will be there; after all there are various people, some who are not bad, and some who are. That is why this 70 percent must be elected, because there will be two or three of them [as heard]. So the election of that 70 percent is in our interests: Will he beat us up with a truncheon, will there just be ZOMO [Citizens Militia-Militarized Reserves] for example, or will there be others—workers, activists of 40 years running for example?

So this 70 percent is important. There are people from the national list, and other lists, who will run, whether someone who sat at the roundtable, for example, General Kiszczak or Ciosek or... well, you know them. And they hold grudges against some of our people. We are playing in Poland, sir. We are playing for Poland.

PAP Reports 'Illegal Demonstration' in Gdansk

LD2005213889 Warsaw PAP in English
2043 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Gdansk, May 20—Following a dozen-so-day [as received] break, groups of young people demonstrating under the rallying call of "Down with the commune" reappeared on the streets of Gdansk today.

About 200 people gathered at an illegal demonstration at the foot of the monument to Jan III Sobieski and next proposed towards the monument to shipyard workers. Upon seeing militia patrols, the demonstrators dispersed.

From the leaflets announcing this demonstration distributed earlier on, it followed that it was to be held to commemorate the first anniversary of the May strikes in the Gdansk Lenin shipyard which, in the opinion of the organizers, contributed to the re-registration of "Solidarity."

Further Comments on Demonstrations in Krakow

KPN Leader Addresses Rally

LD1905213089 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] On the main market square in Krakow an election rally by the Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN] has taken place with the participation of several hundred people. Standing under a KPN banner on the steps of the monument to Adam Mickiewicz, organization chairman Leszek Moczulski spoke of the future activity of KPN members in the Sejm.

He said that whereas Solidarity, as the constructive opposition will have the task of carrying on talks with the government side, KPN will fulfill the role of an early warning system for society against the government. Moczulski stated that the slogan "Soviets go home" that was shouted by the youths attacking the Soviet consulate has

existed for a long time in the KPN platform and will always have his organization's support. The speech of the spiritual patron of the recent appalling incidents in Krakow was accompanied at the rally by shouts of "Commies out," "Soviets go home," "Bolsheviks to the morgue."

Daily Castigates 'Boorishness'

LD1905093189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 19 May 89

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] Today's commentary in the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, entitled "Political [word indistinct]" is devoted to the recent incidents in Krakow. Street brawls, the throwing of stones at the Soviet consultate-general, the loud chanting of anti-Soviet slogans—what is this all for? asks the newspaper. A demonstration of stupidity, thoughtlesness, and unruliness is the worst possible testimony to young people. This is rivaled by the cynicism of the inspirers who directed the street incidents by remote control. This is no longer politics; this is anarchy and terrorism. ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI reminds us that the transformations in Poland are aided by Soviet perestroyka, strengthening and intensifying them. Why throw stones at it? Street brawls, a demonstration of blind force and boorishness is not only our affair. It is not a preelectoral sensation—it discredits us before outsiders, the newspaper emphasizes. Such a picture of Poland will, no doubt, be conveyed abroad by numerous correspondents from many countries.

Solidarity Paper Views Unrest

LD1905183289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] The Solidarity newspaper GAZETA WYBORCZA writes about the anti-Soviet incidents in Krakow. The author of the article, Ernest Skalski, does not praise the disturbances, but he excuses them somehow. Editor Skalski lays the responsibility for the anti-Soviet clashes equally on the opposition demonstrators and on the forces of law and order who are protecting the Soviet Consulate and are trying to restore calm in Krakow. The militia's desire to use only persuasion on 16 May allowed the demonstrators to get close to the Soviet Consulate, to desecrate Soviet emblems, and to threaten the consular mission of a friendly country.

GAZETA WYBORCZA makes light of these events. Ernest Skalski writes: What would the relations between two responsible states be worth if they could be endangered by this type of incident? End of quote. I wonder what the opposition would say if, in Moscow of Kiev, the Polish national emblem were to be desecrated with vulgar graffiti?

And so to the final sentence of the Solidarity daily. Ernest Skalski condemns—and I quote—the hysterical reaction of frightened lackeys. Are the frightened lackeys the Polish forces of law and order? Are the frightened lackeys also the authors of the PAP comment condemning the political outrages which harm Polish-Soviet relations, even in the Gorbachev era? GAZETA WYBORCZA, which continually condemns Stalinism, uses Stalinist language to insult the representatives of the Polish state protecting foreign embassies and expressing disapproval of wild political provocation under the name of the state press agency. In the Stalinist period, the lackeys of imperialism were written about. Now, GAZETA WYBORCZA describes the defenders of the Polish-Soviet alliance of reform, renewal, and restructuring as Soviet lackeys.

It was agreed at the roundtable that political rivalry in the election campaign would be without elements of confrontation of the state authorities as lackeys. The language should be toned down, at least. By justifying anti-Soviet disturbances and by using insulting words, Solidarity will not build national accord and democracy.

Statement Castigates Incidents

LD1905221389 Warsaw PAP in English 2047 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 19—The Presidium of the main board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society today issued a statement referring to anti-Soviet incidents in Krakow which reads in part.

"The society of Polish-Soviet Friendship voices its deep indignation at provocative excesses by a group of young people that took place in Krakow in recent days. These events arouse our vigorous protest and opposition.

"Anarchistic demonstrations, led by members of the illegal movements of Freedom and Peace and Confederation of Independent Poland, desecrated the Soviet Union's emblem and insulted the Soviet state. The demonstrating youth proved disloyal to the ideals of agreement and dialogue, and came out in a particularly drastic way against Polish-Soviet alliance and friendship.

"We are aware that this youth is only a margin of the Krakow community. But, its actions cast shadow on Poland's centuries long tradition of tolerance and respect for other nations. Polish-Soviet alliance and friendship are inseparable in the development of Poland going along the road of reforms and renewal," the statement reads.

USSR Envoy Conveys 'Unease'

LD2005013389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] During a meeting with the city fathers of Krakow, Soviet Ambassador to Poland Vladimir Brovikov conveyed expressions of his country's social unease over the anti-Soviet incidents in front of the Soviet Consulate-General in Krakow. Jozef Gajewicz and Tadeusz Sadza expressed their regret over the incidents and stressed that the residents of Krakow, a town liberated from the

winds of war by the Soviet Army, always have had respectful and sincere relations with the Soviet Union. The recent incidents in the streets of the town cannot change this.

Former Leader Kania Interviewed on 80-81 Events

LD2105193289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1045 GMT 21 May 89

[From the "Review of the Weeklies" program]

[Text] PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY carries an extensive interview with Stanislaw Kania, who was first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee in the difficult years of 1980-81. The interview centers on the problems created by the beginning of the process of renewal in Poland after the August worker protests.

It is October 1980, Stanislaw Kania is speaking: The standpoint of the then Soviet leadership was burdened by a very simplified evaluation of the process that was taking place in our country. The current healthy historic transformations in the Soviet Union that are termed perestroyka raise the curtain on the deep problems and causes there. PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY asks: But should you not have tried to clarify the situation to Brezhnev? To calm him down and convince him that what was happening in Poland was not a counterrevolution but a great social experiment whose success could have had enormous significance for other socialist states? Instead, you allowed yourself to have the Soviet interpretation of events imposed.

Stanislaw Kania replies: What basis do you have for making such judgments so easily? Let us return to the subject of the questions. Yes, it is true that a great social experiment unprecedented in the history of People's Poland was developing. Alongside this, there was also another current; the manifestation of anarchy and the threat of counterrevolution. Finally, are you not also assuming that we were creating models for other socialist countries? Are you saying this was presumptiveness, an almost messianic mission? At that time I thought of only one thing, that what we are doing must be good for Poland and Poles, for national accord, so that Polish poverty could be conquered and the bases for democratic and modern development of the country could be created.

In all talks with the Soviet leadership—and in addition to those that were published by the press, there were many unofficial ones of course, there were also tens of very important telephone conversations—I consistently stuck to my own evaluation of the events in Poland. I can sleep easy, I am not afraid of the judgement of history. I was the same here in Warsaw, Gdansk, Poznan, or Krakow as I was during talks in the Kremlin, in the Crimea, or in other places where they took place. And what was this standpoint of mine? It is adequately clear to everyone who dispassionately analyzes the whole period while I was party secretary. The fullest shape was given to the evaluations of the situation and the program by the ninth congress. Everyone already knows, for this is openly spoken of, that among significant Soviet decisionmakers there was support for armed intervention. However, it must not be forgotten that, despite a number of real threats, this did not come about, stresses Stanislaw Kania in an interview for a reporter from PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY. The INTERVIEW is entitled: "I Am Not Afraid of the Judgment of History."

Quayle Holds Talks With Solidarity Official

LD2005154889 Warsaw PAP in English 1420 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Washington, May 20—Bronislaw Geremek, an activist of "Solidarity", now in Washington, was received by U.S. Vice President Danforth Quayle on May 19.

On the same day Geremek met with journalists from the National Press Club here. He presented the stance of "Solidarity" on the main political and economic problems of Poland. Stating that Poland was a country of tremendous, fast and very positive changes, Geremek briefed newsmen on the electoral compaign to the Sejm and Senate in Poland. Speaking about the economic situation, Geremek stressed the importance which Poland attached to economic assistance from the West, treating this assistance as one of the preconditions of overcoming the economic crisis and of Poland's development. Assessing the to-date stance of Western countries towards the changes taking place in Poland, Geremek expressed a view that it had been not enough flexible, frequently indecisive and lacking broader perspectives.

Speaking about the stance of the U.S. towards Poland, Geremek expressed thanks to U.S. President George Bush for adopting a more active stand towards the process of reforms and changes taking place in Poland and for the promised assistance for Poland.

Solidarity Official on Parliamentary Elections

AU2005172589 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 19 May 89 p 2

[Interview with Karol Modzelewski, former Solidarity press spokesman and member of the Polish National Commission, by Aureliusz M. Pedziwol, in Warsaw: "Enough Uprisings Have Been Frustrated"; date not given]

[Text] DER STANDARD: Why are you running for Polish parliamentary elections in June?

Modzelewski: To make my support of the compromise achieved at the "roundtable" credible.

DER STANDARD: For a long time, the future parliament will not be what democratic countries understand by the word parliament. What role will it play in Polish life?

Modzelewski: The election contract provides an absolute majority of the government coalition members in the Sejm. In this way, the opposition will remain in the minority in the National Assembly because there are only 100 seats in the Senate. Despite this, I believe that we are at the beginning of democratization.

DER STANDARD: And yet part of the opposition calls for a boycott of the elections.

Modzelewski: ... for example, the Fighting Solidarity. It campaigns for the communists with anti-communist slogans. That is to say, that every vote that is not cast counts for the communists. The Fighting Solidarity represents the all-or-nothing attitude which cannot be politically justified as long as communism cannot be overthrown. Our answer is that enough uprising has been frustrated in our country and that we want to solve the crisis in a peaceful and evolutionary way by a compromise with the communists.

DER STANDARD: And what is the danger here?

Modzelewski: It is not only a material, but also a psychological crisis: People do not believe in the future. This hopelessness is dangerous because, combined with material difficulties, it can result in a revolt.

DER STANDARD: And if there is a revolt?

Modzelewski: Then this will frustrate the compromise before it is crushed by tanks. If Gorbachev is overthrown, his successors will probably not only bring the Armenians, Estonians, or Russians, but also us into line. If the changes can be institutionalized before, these institutions will be our entrenchments.

Jaruzelski Receives U.S. Official Jerzy Wiatr

LD2005143189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] In association with the forthcoming general meeting of the Poland-United States Association, named after Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Wojciech Jaruzelski today received chairman of the association, Professor Jerzy Wiatr, who presented the work already done and the program of the organization's activities.

Siwicki, Rakowski, Kiszczak Campaign for Election

Siwicki Details Platform

LD2105133689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 21 May 89

[Excerpts] In today's morning program you are familiarizing yourselves with the views of a well-known person, General Florian Siwicki, a candidate to the Sejm on the National List. [passage omitted] There is the slogan, A smaller, modern and more efficient army, in Gen Siwicki's program. What does that mean? Is it just a slogan?

[Begin Siwicki recording] I don't promise what's going to happen. I have already been putting into effect for a few years what I am presenting today in my electoral program. After all for 2 years already I have been reducing the army and I explained that in my interview, and today on a somewhat broader front, I am moving in the same direction. I think that in a few years our army really will not be so large but considerably more efficient, better organized and the living conditions of our soldiers will be clearly better. And the fact that I have the chance to assure for everyone more correct conditions to carry out their duties—that pleases me already. Today I see the chance, carrying out these restructuring changes, to implement them so that society is less burdened with the cause of defense, to reduce the budget—that is possible. At the same time, to make certain changes in the regulations, define our daily action and behavior so that service will be physically lighter than today's so that our soldier can carry out his tasks, improvements of the soldier's skill or in attainment of defense abilities, to achieve them in a shorter time by utilizing better training organization with contemporary technology, simulators, [word indistinct]—that is my plan, and I will not depart from it. I must carry it out, if I am allowed, if I become a minister in the new government, because things could also be different then. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Rakowksi, Kiszczak Meet Voters

LD2005213689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] And now we go over to our reporters for their reports. Here is Benon Suszycki with a telephone report from Pila. After that, we will have Lublin on the air.

[Suszycki] Today inhabitants of Pila had an opportunity to speak directly to government representatives. At 1640 Sejm candidates from the National List—Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Defense Minister General Florian Siwicki—arrived at the election fete in Pila. This was the first question to the prime minister.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Prime Minister, the first question is perhaps not very nice. Why do you need this campaign? Why do you need a popularity contest? (?After all), you are a sufficiently popular man in Poland and in our country electoral success does not depend on the number of handshakes like the United States.

[Rakowski] First of all, I would like to say good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.

I am not treating the election as a popularity contest. That is not the point. It is important for me as a man, citizen, and prime minister of our country to verify to what extent the policies which I represent are supported by the citizens. That is why a meeting like this, or other meetings which I hold, are of value for me. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Second unidentified correspondent] General Czeslaw Kiszczak, member of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Politburo and internal affairs minister, today visited Lublin Voivodship. He is a candidate from the National List for the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. [words indistinct]

[Kiszczak] Hello. We have already met.

[Correspondent] After a brief visit to Naleczow, he arrived at the regional internal affairs office and the Passport Department of the Voivodship internal affairs office.

[Kiszczak] How long have you been waiting for your passports, ladies and gentlemen?

[Unidentified woman] Five weeks.

[Krzysztof Chobrowski, deputy head of the Passport Department] There are situations when we indeed fail to do it within 1 month.

[Kiszczak] And why is that?

[Chobrowski] Above all, because we have had too many applications accumulating in one period.

[Kiszczak] Well, can you not put more people to work in that period?

[Chobrowski] We have done everything we can. We work until 2000, Comrade General. We have also opened additional passport centers.

[Kiszczak] Such long lines are not a good advertisment for you.

[Correspondent] Explanations were provided by Colonel Krzysztof Chobrowski, deputy head of the Passport Department in Lublin. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [sound of sirens] [?Samborski] Citizen General, Colonel (?Samborski), commander of the Professional Fire Service reports the second service watch on duty. Strength: 50. Present: 40. Firefighting unit: Attention!

[Kiszczak] Hello, firefighters.

[Voices] Hello, Citizen General.

[Kiszczak] So, how much do you make a month?

[Unidentified man] It varies.

[Kiszczak] Go on, tell me the truth.

[Man, chuckling] Well, I get nearly 80,000.

[Kiszczak] That is in total, with supplements, with everything.

[Man] That is right.

[Kiszczak] And you?

[Second man] I get the same.

[Kiszczak] Well, I wish you every success. Good-bye. [end recording]

Rakowski, Siwicki Visit Pila

LD2105032989 Warsaw PAP in English 2159 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Pila, May 20—The elections will be a major test of the maturity of the entire society and will have decisive importance for further development of Poland, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski told listeners in the Higher Officers' School in Pila today.

In his pre-election meetings in the region the prime minister was accompanied by Defense Minister Florian Siwicki. Both politicians are candidates for Sejm deputies from the National Electoral List.

Answering questions, Rakowski referred to a fairly widespread view which says that the round table process was a cure-all, making it posible to change the political climate in Poland and putting a stop to unrest. As the head of the government I want to stress that economic demands have by no means disappeared, he said. We continue to see strikes, and pay claims are made repeatedly. It is being said that the government has funds but does not want to pay, while in reality the budget deficit keeps growing. People complain of economic crisis in Poland. But have there been any examples in universal history of so many new houses being built, especially in the countryside, (as in Poland now) in the years of allegedly gravest crisis? the prime minister asked.

Answering other questions, he said: If we won a few years' respite in the repayment of foreign debts, if, during this period, we had social peace—we would then overcome many a problem. One should be aware of the fact that nothing can be done overnight, in one month or even a year. There are no miracles...

On the same day, Rakowski and Siwicki took part in a meeting with the city's residents. Rakowski stated in part:

"For me, as premier, it is important that the policy which I represent be accepted by the majority of society. The present electoral campaign is different from previous ones. It is a school of behaviour, the candidates' reactions to problems which face the country. It is a kind of academy of political science in which all of us are enrolled. The growing activity of citizens makes one happy. On the other hand, the fact that some candidates only speak of the past and prey on the mistakes of the

authorities in past years worries one. One is also worried by the sharpening of the campaign tone by the opposition. This poses a threat of entering a phase of confrontation. I am above all interested in what in fact must be done for life to be better in Poland."

The premier was applauded when he spoke about the draft law on protected conceived life: "I leave this matter to the women to be evaluated, to those who gave birth and who will give birth," Rakowski said.

"I also hear such voices: Mr. Premier, be our Mrs Thatcher. To this I reply that I have no skirt. But if we were to take a firm grip on everything, as she did, voices full of indignation would ring out that this is an assault on democratization," Rakowski said.

Upon his return to Warsaw, Rakowski told this to reporters of PAP and the Polish radio: Such direct contacts provide an undistorted knowledge of what people really think, what are their opinions on various social and economic facts, what is their attitude to our policy. Usually I return strengthened from such trips, which are not prepared in advance. I know that some people in Poland live a difficult life but on the other hand it makes me glad when I see family houses springing up around various small towns. I am glad when I see tidy towns and that something new is being created.

The thing which worries me the most is that some occupational circles in Poland are not ready to say "enough", while in my view we have every chance to do away with the consequences of the economic and social crisis which hit us in previous years, but on the condition that one day the majority of the society will say: Let us wait, let's give up demands for more (money), let's see what will happen after two, three years...

Rakowski Speaks at Rally

LD2205033389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 21 May 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In accordance with our announcement we are now broadcasting a report from the election rally in Pila. Yesterday, the residents of Pila had the opportunity for direct conversations with representatives of the government. In the afternoon Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and defense minister, Army General Florian Siwicki, Sejm candidates from the National List, arrived at the preelection festivities in Pila.

The inhabitants of Pila were able to directly pose questions, handed over on pieces of paper, and both [word indistinct] candidates replied to them directly into the microphone. Several thousand inhabitants listened intently to the replies, rewarding some of them with applause. Here is our report from the Saturday meeting of Sejm deputy candidates from the National List with inhabitants of Pila:

[Begin recording] [Master of ceremonies] [Passage omitted] I greet in our election studio, organized at lightning speed, the premier of the government, Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

[Rakowski] Above all, good day ladies and gentlemen. I do not treat the elections as a popularity contest, that is not the point. On the other hand, it is important for me, as a human being, a citizen, and premier of the government of our country to check how far the policies that I represent are supported by the citizens. That, too, is why this type of meeting, or other meetings that I have are valuable to me, because naturally I hear various questions at these meetings that can satisfy me and perhaps others. I will try to answer everyone and I stress once again that I simply need to check myself in the eyes of others.

[Unidentified speaker] An electoral battle is in progress in Poland. Candidates for deputies and senators are bending over backward in the struggle for votes, introducing into this battle methods that shock us. The premier has occasion to convince himself about this too before going (?onto the platform). How does the head of the government assess this (?new) [word indistinct]. What (?pleases) the premier and what worries him?

[Rakowski] The electoral campaign is indeed running its course in a way different from all the previous ones. It is undoubtedly very interesting. In my opinion, this is a school of behaviour, of response by the candidates to the problems that face Poland. I think that this electoral campaign may also be called an academy of political science, in which academy we are all participating. Of course, as in every school, there are various grades in this academy: very good, good, satisfactory, and unsatisfactory.

What pleases me? Exceptionally valuable from the point of view of overcoming all barriers and difficulties that are before us. What worries me? For the time being, there are no great causes for worry, though I must say frankly and openly that I perceive that I am constantly informed about the course of the campaign and certain candidates for deputies and senators who go on about the past to an awful extent but say little about the future, about what must be done, how it must be done, so as to remove various troubles; this worries me. [passage omitted]

[Speaker] Mr Premier, I would very much like to know what you think about the introduction of a law on abortion.

[Rakowski] I prefer to leave the reply to this question to women [applause] who have given birth or will give birth. On the other hand, I want to say that the weight of maintaining children who are in childrens' homes or in special homes rests on the state, that is on all of you. You pay taxes to the state, like I do, about which I will later be speaking, so every decision on this matter must take into account the possibilities that you possess, for the state does not have particular sources of maintenance apart from taxes.

[Speaker] Now, premier, the next question: For 40 years you have been governing, most probably talking, and there aren't any results, no results. [sentence as heard] When will the communist authorities finally prove themselves (?if they stay with us this century) or maybe in the 21st century?

[Rakowski] My dear, first, what sort of communism is it in Poland, tell me? What kind of communist government? What does that government have in common with communism and what do social relations have in common with communism? Forgive me, but that is empty talk. If you were to crucify me or that person who wrote it, I won't depart from those theses which I propagate, precisely that my Poland, not that Poland, only my Poland raised itself out of the ruins. Don't the old people, don't they remember what Poland looked like in 1945, what Pila looked like, don't they remember, don't they? [applause]

Yes. Now how many educated people are there here who are proud of being the intelligentsia and who grew up from peasant or working class families? How many are there? One, only me? [applause] (Does?) that empty talk that nothing has changed in Poland, that we have not done anything yet, that there only ruins, misery, hunger, show me in any case those miserable people in Poland, when wherever you go there are fully laden tables? At a wedding of a peasant Z3.2 million was spent. [applause] Where are those hungry people?

I don't maintain that in Poland everyone lives well. Certain groups of pensioners above all live badly, very badly, yes, and I'll do everything possible when there are means to raise pensions. Up until July we are to reevaluate and raise pensions. But let us not exaggerate this misery, the poverty. Wherever I go I see the following: new houses. The day before yesterday I was in Zarnowiec. Near Gdansk there are houses standing built now apparently in this time of the deepest crisis, in this Poland where nothing is happening. Marvelous one family houses have been built. (?Are there shipyard workers in Gdansk?) Are they millionaires? What have they built them with, with dollars, not with dollars? But it has been accepted.

Some people in Poland speak the truth [word indistinct] about what the communists have done. I am a communist. What the Communists have done, that's nothing? Those towns, factories, nothing? And the villages? Gierek dreamed of building a second Poland; In the Polish countryside a second Poland has been built during the crisis, in Mazowsze, in the south of Poland, in those backward areas. (?when did all that happen?) Nothing good has happened in Poland. Each one of us has our faults, every community has its faults, and every nation has its faults. That is the way things have been, are, and are going to be.

The sort of talk that we don't prove ourselves [changes thought] I'll tell you about one more thing which has absolutely proved itself. There still continues to be in Poland considerable dislike for the Russians and the Soviet Union. Ladies and gentlemen, please think for a moment. For the first time, for the first time in 6 centuries, for 45 years we have a peaceful border on the east. Let anyone who looks cross-eyed at the Soviet Union and sulks—regardless of the fact that they did Katyn to us, didn't they, in the Stalinist period—let him take into consideration the fact that for the first time such a long period in Polish history has lasted that there are no fires of concern burning on the eastern border. Is that not a great success of the Polish nation? A nation that is squeezed between two stronger nations.

I am not betraying a secret here. Wyszynski [Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, primate of Poland, died in 1981], 2 months before his death, met with the first secretary of the party, Kania, and said this—that was virtually just before his death—he said, Mr Secretary, I compare Poland to a man who stands in a room with two walls, one is a Slavonic wall and the other is Germanic. I choose the support of the Slavonic wall. That was said by the prince of the church, who the communists of my generation harassed quite a lot. Well? What to you say then? [scattered applause]

The next question deals with my friend and at the same time boss, General Wojciech Jaruzelski. I must drink a little water before this.

Eight years passed; governments under subsequent premiers—(?simply) months and years of austerity. How long can the nation endure this? I would really like to—but I am not able to grasp it at all—see how each Pole lives, and whether each life of a Pole gives grounds to the claim, to the question how long the nation can sustain this. This is the first point. Second, I know that old song, I know it, it has been played many times, about 8 lost years. Eight lost years, are they really? And what? Has nothing happened here in your town? Now, hand on heart: Is there more freedom in Poland now than there was before, or isn't there? Sometimes, when I watch games of my former colleagues, sorry, but not only those people of the pen, the professionals and others, who write whatever comes to their mind, it does not always hold water. [applause]

Thank you. A bit of a journalist. [sentence as heard] It is not true that those 8 years were lost. What is more, in my opinion, when I look upon my life, upon the lives of us all, we had to go along a certain road. Jaruzelski is right when he says that all the sides have covered a long way before they met at the roundtable. This is what happens in the life of a nation. First, it is necessary to prove certain experience. I met Michnik today, or Kuron—we know each other—and we grinned at each other from a distance. When we first met we were hostile to each other. To pass from hostility to trust, well maybe not fully to trust, but at least to think that in such and such

a case they are right after all, or that he will think that I am right, for that experience is necessary. Ladies and gentlemen, has anyone ever done anything without experience? It also concerns the nation. Let us not say that these 8 years are lost, and ask if the nation can endure this. I will tell you. A philosophy of complaining has taken root with us. One who is well-off—or even better—complains, and one who is poor also complains. There are workers earning Z200,000 or Z250,000, in factories, not on the side, but there are those who earn Z60,000. Ours is a society that is more and more diversified, and this is what we are accused of, because there is the question of whether or not I will sell out socialism.

Here is the second question: Should a really compromised politician like Jaruzelski become the president of the Polish People's Republic? Does it have to be a representative of the compromised Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]? First I reject the theory that the PZPR has compromised itself. We are encumbered with responsibility for everything, which is correct since this is the governing party, so it is responsible and I don't negate that. Only I would ask you for an honest, just measure of punishment. One has to take two scales and put that which has been done well on one scale and on the other that which is bad. One should not prattle but take facts: Don't be taken in by demagogy, as it is not worth it—it has short legs.

On the other hand I want to say if it were not for Jaruzelski, if we had not had such a leader, there would not have been a roundtable nor many of the processes democratizing our system. I can assure you with my hand on my heart that he initiated, he initiated all that which signified the final closing of the phase—let us call it—of martial law, of feelings which were connected with this. That was most courageous and he is the most serious politician. I can testify that to you as I work next to him. I am not saying this for propaganda reasons. One also has to be just, one has to be just. [applause]

I have seen many leaders in Poland following World War II. I maintain that Jaruzelski is the one who is intellectually the most prepared to carry out the function. What is more he was able to overcome prejudices, as I myself, and many others have. He even managed to overcome his own past—not completely as he does not renounce what he has done in Poland—but may God give us another such leader, God give us such a one. I remind you that he has greater authority in the world than many a Pole today.

[Speaker] And now for something completely different: Mr Premier, Solidarity's aggressiveness and arrogance toward the Polish authorities and toward you, Mr Premier, during the election campaign is revolting. Why do you endure this so patiently? [Signed] Danutha K.

[Rakowski] Well, I would say that I am thick-skinned, therefore I endure this. But I do not care about it too much because I think it makes me liked by wise people. I also win their support. If they want to ride on my back, well let them. I really did not speak about it in the first part, as there was no such question.

In the electoral campaign at the moment, undignified tricks often are being used, tricks unbecoming a man and a citizen of my country. But to the devil with it! The election awaits us, which although it departs from those that took place in the postwar period of Polish history, is not democratic. The next question. Yes, well, yes. I have too little time, as it is already (?1800), to conduct a conversation with one who asks the questions: What is democracy? What are democratic elections? But this is yet another slogan used by the opposition, who say that (?in the Sejm) they are democratic [words indistinct] are democratic. The democratic ones are simply those in which the opposition wins. [slight applause]

We may have a terribly democratic system, a system in which we will only work on Wednesday, in the middle of the week! [laughs] [Passage indistinct] but as far as the people who lead the state are concerned, then facing all these problems and dilemmas there comes a moment when, for instance, the premier is alone, and he alone has to put his signature to it. It is not as simple a matter as it seems to some in Poland. And there are cries at the top [words indistinct].

There is the question of how much I earn. I will satisfy this curiosity in a moment. The money does not have too much significance for me in the sense that this is not something of primary importance for me. The most important thing for me is the feeling of loneliness at certain moments, when I have put my signature to a decision affecting the fate of millions of people. There lies the drama of each politician. And now about those earnings. By the way, I can satisfy that curiosity because, after all, it has been published in the DZIENNIK USTAW: How much do you, Mr Premier, earn with supplements for official entertainment [dodatki reprezentacyjne] and with bonuses? Well, my salary, as of February this year, amounts to Z404,000 without [words indistinct]. Well, let us see what privileges I have. From that I pay Z43,000 in taxes monthly. Now, what do I get for free? The telephone at home; I do not pay for the telephone. I have no further privileges. I have an apartment, for which I pay. I pay the radio license fee. I pay the television license fee. When I take my shirt to the cleaners I pay for it. No one in the Council of Ministers washes my shirts for me. In a word, these are all the great privileges the Polish premier enjoys.

As far as my apartment is concerned, I will tell you that I have a four-room apartment of 116 square meters. What is more, I am changing it now because for the last 3 years I have had hardly any hot water there. I have had enough and so has my wife, so I am exchanging it for the same type of apartment in another building. So this is what my appanage looks like.

Perhaps you would like to know how much money I have in general? I will tell you because (?some) farmer who wrote to me has made me angry. He told me how many hectares he had, and I calculated that he was worth a dozen or so million. Hence I wrote (?to him) that since the period when I worked as a journalist I now have, with all the interest because we raised the interest rate quite recently, Z3.7 million, plus a private Polonez [a type of car] and a little house in the Mazury Lakes which I built exactly 21 years ago. This is all. [applause]

[Speaker] (?It clearly follows...)

[Rakowski, interrupting] Yes, but now another question, so that this citizen will not think I have finished.

[Speaker] Do you know, gentlemen, how an average citizen lives on the lowest average pension or wage, assuming his source of income is Z50,000 or less?

[Rakowski] I don't know. I have already said this, that there is a certain group of pensioners who really live below any threshold, and this is not good. But this is the result of delays of many years delays of many years which have to be made up. However, at the moment we can catch up with the delays in only one way, by printing more paper, by printing more.

[Speaker] Why are you not drawing conclusions with regard to the organizers of events in Krakow? How long will this situation go on?

[Rakowski] I probably will offend someone again, but sometimes my hands are itching because I regard it as sheer hooliganism and stupidity. The Soviet ambassador, who is very friendly to us, visited me. He says: If your eagle was spat on in Moscow, what would you say then? I have not come to express official protest—there are differences whether it is an official protest or not—I have not come on behalf of the Soviet Government, but I will tell you that I feel simply hurt and I know that if someone desecrated the emblem of Poland like this—although we are incomparable with the Soviet Union because it is a superpower the area of which comprises 72 Polands, speaking geographically—if someone did this to your eagle in Moscow, he says, you would have anti-Soviet demonstrations all over the country. Would it not happen? Yes, it would.

So some people appeal to these young people. Young people? They are often children! This is unnecessary in Poland, not because I am afraid of the Soviet Union. This is not the issue at all. But good manners, good upbringing tell one not to do things like that. And often those clever types who instigate these young people's street demonstrations think they have very good upbringing, that they graduated from schools or are about to graduate from universities. How long are we going to tolerate this?

I will tell you: Law is being broken commonly in Poland now. One should know this also. The law is broken and this is not punished. And I know that a moment will come when an ordinary passer-by will be hit by a stone and then he will start shouting and accusing the authorities that they are not doing what they are supposed to be doing. And what should the authorities be doing? If you watch television you will see what dispersing illegal demonstrations looks like in the streets of Seoul or somewhere else. Have a look. They do not play soft there.

Someone else also asked, in order to explain something: Premier Rakowski said that the times when visits were being prepared are over. Does the premier know that before your arrival on this island asphalt was laid? [laughter] And please do not say that this was because of a fete because several of them had been held here before. [laughter]

I do not know whether the asphalt was laid yesterday. This should be explained by the city authorities, but it is clear and perhaps it is a good thing that the asphalt was laid. At least you will not have to run on the sand, if there was sand here. [brief applause] Sometimes such visits are helpful and sometimes very helpful. In the future they should lay it 2 weeks in advance. [applause]

[Announcer] Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski's meeting with Pila residents has finished. The premier answered many questions. We could only present some of them in our program. Hence a question to the premier: How do you assess this meeting? Perhaps there were no smooth, polite questions here?

[Rakowski] No, the questions asked here were the same questions being asked in various parts of Poland and at various meetings. As far as this is concerned, I could add that there were no questions that could not be answered. I said that there would be no (?secrets) today. However, I regard the meeting here as a successful one. When I looked at the faces—and I always watch the people in the room, checking for reactions—the reactions were not hostile or unfriendly, but friendly. I meet people in various parts of Poland and I am coming to the conclusion that the majority of our society believe that I am able to do something. (?The people) are also critical, but when I have direct contacts with people I can see that with the arguments one uses one can convince even someone who has doubts. For he often does not know where the doubts came from. Well, [word indistinct] he reads or repeats some general judgements. To say it briefly, I am a follower of the theory that every politician in the (?cabinet) should talk from (?his high position), but also in depth to the people and listen carefully to what they say. The reason is that ordinary people often can notice (?many things) which the politicians at the top cannot notice. However, I must say that my knowledge about Poland today is enormous and I consider it a great achievement. I even sometimes have fears whether I will be able to remember and consume all this.

[Announcer] Mr Premier, you clearly became more alert when the questions were sharp; you have revealed your talent as a polemicist. But not all candidates, even from the Nationalist, have such talents, to say nothing about the candidates for senators and deputies, who sometimes are boring.

[Rakowski] Well, yes, but boring talk is also a human feature. However, I agree that one has to be a polemicist, but tell me: Where were many people supposed to learn to tackle issues? We are journalists, you know my past, and before I became premier, I travelled the world, I took part in the conferences of the round and square tables, I took part in different meetings, I simply acquired experience. Well, maybe there is some talent also, but in general, I get going only when someone gets on my nerves. And if this does not happen, then such a meeting is (?boring).

[Announcer] Thank you, very much.

[Rakowski] You are welcome. [end recording]

Further on Leaders' Visit

LD2105202189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1708 GMT 21 May 89

[From the "Election Studio" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Some residents of Pila talked to the premier personally. One of them asked if the premier expected such changes in our country a year ago when he took office.

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] Yes, I assumed that, yes but....

[Unidentified voice, interrupting] [Words indistinct] But did you assume them to be so radical? The elections, and so on?

[Rakowski] Yes. I mean, we knew that we had to reach this point. But it also depended on the maturing of all the partners. I spoke of it, I could elaborate on it. It is not that simple. [Words indistinct] one does what one wants.

[Voice] Did you envision any mutual [words indistinct].

[Rakowski] This must have happened. I mean, we had to grow up to it.

[Voice] The situation simply forced it? Did the situation lead to, as if...

[Rakowski, interrupting] Yes, but it is always like that. In every situation, if a decision is made it is always forced by something, either by the street or by thinking, or by economic circumstances. This does not happen in a vacuum. It is best when it is not forced by the street, but by an understanding of the situation.

[Voice] Yes, that's it. [end recording]

Rakowski Interviewed at Airport

LD2105204689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1708 GMT 21 May 89

[From the "Election Studio" program]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] After his return to Warsaw Okecie Airport, the premier granted me a brief interview.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Prime minister, you travel all over the country very often now. You meet people often and this is very well received. Many people stress that they missed such direct contact with the government and its representatives before. Prime minister, why does this come so late? Why did you not tell your predecessors that this was such a good, interesting way of talking to people?

[Rakowski] It was difficult to suggest it to my predecessors. However, I would like to say that these travels are not something new in my activity. When I was deputy premier in 1981-85 I also travelled very often. Since I became premier I have made it a habit because I think that direct contacts provide (?vast) knowledge about what people are thinking, how they react to various social and economic phenomena, how they react to our policy. From a purely personal point of view on my contacts, I want to say that, as a rule, I come back from these travels through Poland—which are usually not prepared or organized in advance; I leave in the morning and visit some town or village—I always come back stronger. I know that some people have a difficult life in Poland but, at the same time, I am very pleased when I see little towns surrounded by family houses. I am pleased to see towns which are well looked after, where something new is being created all the time. I need optimism as much as everyone else and this kind of trip strengthens this optimism. Of course, later I come to Warsaw and often read reports on measures of one kind or another. Generally speaking, bad information is collected for me.

What is good is not written down, only what is wrong, and more precisely what is wrong when (?there is nothing good). And then I again fall into a bad mood and I judge that this is one of the reasons why I constantly [words indistinct]. For the people, in my view, these sorts of contacts are very important, for they then see that the authorities are not so distant and overblown, irrespective of the fact that they do not always know what to do. As you have noticed at such meetings I speak of the dilemmas of the authorities, about how (?decisions) [words indistinct] for everyone, or some [words indistinct] decision altogether.

[Correspondent] Recently you have been encouraging the limitation of compensatory demands, the tightening of belts. Do you expect that society will approve of this? Unfortunately, there have been many of these compensatory demands.

[Rakowski] I would say that I am less than a moderate optimist. This is what worries me the most, namely that there are certain professional milieux who, well, do not want to (?maintain themselves), and in my view, looking realistically at the situation in Poland, we have the opportunity to eliminate the effects of the recent economic and social crises. At a certain moment, the majority of society says, well, let us wait, let us wait and not demand more. We will see how things are in 2 or 3 years. This statement need not be a question, because Poland really is a rich country in resources. We have enormous industry, we have talented people. The government that I direct is trying to create the conditions for human initiative, for whole structures of management, everything that [word indistinct] people. There are possibilities. Of course, if the country is rocked by demonstrations as stupid as those in Krakow, by boys or youths, this creates an unfavorable situation for us outside the country. There is no doubt about this, noone [word indistinct]. If there are constant demands to pay Z30,000 or 40,000 then obviously inflation will grow and [words indistinct], even if one stands on one's head, for how to change this situation?

[Correspondent] What social group do you count on above all?

[Rakowski] You know I would say that I do not count on any social group. I count on intelligent, realistically thinking Poles, who exist in every social group. I know factories where the workers work marvelously, where there is an excellent milieu, excellent engineers. I count on them. And what about the peasants' milieux? There are peasants who work marvelously, do not complain, have high incomes, and those who, like those I met recenty, somewhere in eastern Poland, who in the afternoon before a food shop that [words indistinct]. For me this is not a good peasant. I count today on those who want to do something, and this (?can be).

[Correspondent] Certain of your ministers have gained much acclaim, are very popular [words indistinct]. How do you evaluate your government.

[Rakowski] I cannot use ranks, but I feel that the people I chose serve well. [end recording]

Transcript of Rykowski 16 May News Conference

AU1905124189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 May 89 pp 1, 6

[Transcript of news conference given by Government Deputy Spokesman Zbyslaw Rykowski at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 9 May]

[Text] Government Deputy Spokesman Zbyslaw Rykowski met Polish and foreign journalists at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw for another news conference on 16 May. The transcript appears below:

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: I would like to ask what is happening at Elk. What is the strike situation like? Who would you blame more for the fact that the strike is not over and that meat there is rotting, the strike committee or the local authorities?

Z. Rykowski: You know about the situation at Elk from communiques. According to the information I received this morning, nothing in particular has changed. As you know, the dispute flared up over demands for the dismissal of the director. In light of this, Kazimierz Olesiak, the agriculture minister and vice premier, suspended the director until the charges leveled against him have been explained.

We thought that this would be acceptable to the strikers, and that remains our position. However, this was not received as going halfway toward meeting the demand, and the strike is unfortunately still in progress.

I cannot fail to indicate the consequences of the strike. As you know, meat is a strategic commodity in Poland, and everything pertaining to it generates tension and has numerous ramifications. That is why the news that there are animals waiting for slaughter there, that there is meat that is not being delivered to the shops, are all things that trigger strong emotions among the public, and my attitude toward the strike can only be negative. There is no basis and there can be no basis for acting in a way that harms supply. There actually are various way of dealing with demands, of assessing demands, and establishing what is and is not warranted.

This is—as I said—all the more true with respect to this explosive personnel issue, as we were favorably disposed toward negotiations and created a situation conducive to them.

I always feel rather uncomfortable about talking about the strike situation at midday as it is not possible to know how things will develop by the evening. I simply would not like to complicate talks or negotiations by providing an assessment now, in the morning, as the situation may change by the evening.

Boguslaw Turek: I have one more question. Apparently, three Krakow newspapers have conducted opinion polls on how Poles, how inhabitants of the city will vote in the elections. The findings indicate that 46 percent would be inclined to vote for "Solidarity" and 7 percent would vote for Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] candidates. Have any polls been conducted on this subject at the national level?

Z. Rykowski: I do not know of any.

Marian Kafarski, AFP: Could you give us some details about Mr Czyrek's trip to Washington and about the purpose of the visit in particular. What is his meeting with President Bush expected to produce?

Z. Rykowski: It is a continuation of the dialogue that has been started up with the U.S. Administration. President Bush's visit to Poland will undoubtedly be one of the subjects discussed during the talks.

Kownacki [no Christian name provided], Polonia Radio: Could you tell us what Minister Wroblewski discussed during his talks in the United States?

Z. Rykowski: Minister Wroblewski was in the United States from 9 through 10 May. He held talks with the U.S. treasury secretary, the State Department undersecretary for economic affairs, the director of the IMF, and the president of the World Bank. The principles governing economic cooperation with the West were discussed. The people that the minister spoke to maintained that one of the foundations for cooperation and a partial reduction in the debt is the formulation of an economic program that would lead to internal equilibrium, a program that could be deemed an adjustment program.

It is planned that a group of experts from the IMF and World Bank will come to Poland at the beginning of June and will join in work on preparing an economic program of this kind.

Konstanty Geppert, "Solidarity" press: In November of last year, a group of journalists associated with the journal PO PROSTU, which was closed down in 1957, requested permission to resume publication from the appropriate authorities. Since then the question has been discussed by various bodies in various ways with the same unclear result. Can one expect it to be published or not? What is the current situation regarding this issue?

Z. Rykowski: I will begin with PO PROSTU, because I think that I am personally more involved with this issue than you. I am emotionally attached to the publication, because I had the good fortune or pleasure of writing a book about 1956, and it can be said that reading PO PROSTU in some way shaped my way of thinking. I have some good news for both you and myself, that is to say, the press control office has issued permission for the journal to be published. For my part, as a supporter of the publication, I would say that I hope that it will continue its old traditions, its leftwing traditions, and will not be a publication that will run counter to that tradition.

Now I have some matters left over from last week to deal with. I have received the following explanation in connection with your questions. On 19 December Joanna Antas informed the militia that on 18 December or on the day before that, at about 2100, following a disagreement with a stranger at a taxi stand on Lenin Avenue in Nowa Huta, Krakow, where he was also waiting for a taxi, she was severely beaten up by the stranger. The man also beat up Mr Balbus, an acquaintance of Mrs Antas, who tried to defend her. Mrs Antas suggested, without providing any justification, that the assailant may have been a Security Service functionary. Despite investigations by the militia, the identity of the assailant was not established. On 15 May of this year the state attorney for the Nowa Huta district of Krakow decided to suspend the investigation in view of the fact that the identity of the perpetrator of the offense had not been ascertained.

Second, on 24 January, the militia was informed that a Maria Indyk was struck on the head by an unknown assailant at about 2100 on Tatarska Street in Krakow's Krowodza District. Eyewitnesses were only able to notice that the assailant was a man and that he was wearing a soldier's coat.

As in the previous case, despite militia action, it was not possible to establish the identity of the assailant. On 15 May the Krowodza District state attorney's office decided to suspend investigations in view of the fact that assailant's identity had not been established.

Concerning the third matter that you asked about: A "Solidarity" lecturer appearing on local television reported that at about 0200 on the night of 7-8 May Mr Lothar Herbst, a poet and local "Solidarity" activist, was beaten up outside his house on Komandorska Street in Wroclaw by unknown assailants. In light of the television report, the Voivodship Internal Affairs Department in Wroclaw launched an investigation during the course of which entries in the daybooks of district internal affairs department officers were checked.

Militia functionaries on duty in the vicinity of the street and the whole Krzyka neighborhood were questioned. It was found that neither Mr Herbst nor anyone acting on his behalf had reported the incident to the militia.

Aleksandra Jakubowska, Television News: I would like to ask if there have been any new developments concerning the construction of the coking plant at Stonava. Has the Czech side broken its silence? I would also like to ask what the government's long-term view is with respect to investment projects of this kind close to our borders and the mutual polluting of waters and the atmosphere in general?

Z. Rykowski: According to preliminary information, I can tell you that a group of Polish experts will shortly leave for Stonava at the invitation of the Czechoslovak side to conduct an on-site inspection.

In reply to your more general question, I would remind you of the meeting between the three vice premiers that was held last year on Poland's initiative. The purpose of the meeting was to start cooperation in the environmental protection field. The protection of the environment has ceased to be a problem for the individual state and has become a universal, international problem. Poland is keenly interested in concluding an agreement with its neighbors, an agreement on joint environmental protection activities.

We are continuing this initiative, and I hope that this initiative of ours will yield the results that we are waiting for, and that common efforts by Poland and its neighbors will mean that the environment will be better protected.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: I would like to ask about the results of opinion polls. I am sure such polls are being conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center, and I cannot imagine that you do not know their results. There is a suspicion that if you do not want to tell us these results, it means that they are disastrous. For example, I would like to know what the intentions of voters are, what percentage of them intend to vote.

Z. Rykowski: It is difficult to expect me to lie. I do not know the results, that is all.

Matti Hoviseppa, KANSAN UUTISET of Finland: Last week, one senior party official said that a meeting of the Polish-Soviet historians commission on the subject of Katyn was due to take place this week. Recently, General Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev spoke out on accelerating this commission's work. What does the government know about developments in this sphere?

Z. Rykowski: Yes, intense preparations for another meeting of this commission are under way. The work of the commission is to be accelerated, in pursuance of the decisions reached during General Jaruzelski's last Moscow visit.

A book published by the Polish Scientific Publishing House about the deportation of Poles to the depths of the Soviet Union will appear shortly, if it has not already done so. A book about the tragedy of the Polish Communist Party is already in print. Joint material on Polish-Soviet relations in 1939 will soon appear.

Klaus Bachmann, DIE PRESSE: Today's TRYBUNA LUDU says that General Jaruzelski will pay an official visit to the GDR on 22 May. Will a treaty on the Pomeranian Bay be signed?

Z. Rykowski: As we said in today's communique, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, will pay an official visit of friendship to the GDR at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, on 22 May. As we know, visits like these between the heads of two states are a good tradition, and take place regularly. I hope this visit will also expand the friendship and cooperation with the GDR. The treaty on a demarcation of waters in the Pomeranian Bay, which has already been initialed, should be viewed in this context. It is envisaged that during this visit, the foreign ministers of both countries will sign this treaty in the presence of Wojciech Jaruzelski and Erich Honecker.

Krzysztof Leski, GAZETA WYBORCZA: You have assured us several times that the government has nothing to do with the elections, and yet last week, Premier Rakowski ordered local government bodies to support government candidates in the elections. The Voivodship People's Council of Jelenia Gora has adopted a resolution on joining the election campaign. The "Solidarity" Citizens Committee has protested against the first case, and the "Solidarity" Voivodship Committee of Jelenia Gora has protested against the second case. My question is: Has Premier Rakowski led you astray, or have you led us astray?

Z. Rykowski: I will not speak out on the subject of the voivodship people's council resolution because representative bodies are not under government control.

Concerning the first matter, I will say the following. At the "roundtable," we sat down as a government coalition side. You know, because you were there. To use the language formulated by "Solidarity," the government, as a constitutional supreme executive body and the apex of state authority, is a product of the coalition. Our government's political line is a line of reforms and accord. The government has been energetic in bringing about the accord and establishing its contents, and is just as energetic in implementing it.

According to the law, the state administration is to act in accordance with government policy, in other words the policy of reforms and accord. Therefore, it should oppose confrontational attacks on state authority. I wish to make it clear that when performing work dictated by the election rules, the state administration acts in accordance with and within the framework of the law, just as it does when exercising its other powers. The election costs incurred by individual candidates are not paid for out of the state budget.

However, nowhere in the world is a state administration neutral. "Solidarity," which is attacking this very state administration from a political angle, knows this very well. One cannot expect a state official not to hold views of his own or not have the right to present and defend his own achievements, the achievements of the ruling camp to which he belongs and with which he identifies himself, especially when the opposition is out to discredit the administration.

Zbigniew Zemler, Information Committee of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation]: How can one explain the government's disturbing delay in placing the bill on factory social and housing funds before the Sejm? I say disturbing, because these funds were agreed upon by the OPZZ and the relevant ministers last January, and our people, the trade unionists, are worried because summer is approaching and over half of the working people have no money to send their children on vacation. Apart from that, as we all know, housing was one of the priorities expressed in Premier Rakowski's first speech.

Z. Rykowski: We will try to give you an answer either during today's press conference or next week.

Wieslaw Wesolowski, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: What percentage of the dollars accumulated by banks finds its way to the tills? Can you reject the suspicion that the crazy increase in the dollar exchange rate in April was caused by a state institution accumulating this currency in order to settle current debts?

Z. Rykowski: You know, the dollar exchange rate in Poland depends on so many factors that it is difficult to establish any single reason. It depends on moods, the price of vodka, the supply of cars to Pewex hard-currency shops, and 1,000 other things. It is difficult to say how many of these dollars come back.

Evelia Maitret, EXCELSIOR: Could you be so kind as to state the government opinion about the declaration by Leszek Moczulski, leader of the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland], who said that the first thing the KPN will do when it enters the Sejm is call for new Sejm elections, or else it will start street battles?

Z. Rykowski: First, I would not want people with a program like Mr Moczulski's to enter the Sejm, and I hope the voters, most of whom support the spirit of the "roundtable" and accords and are realists, are of the same opinion. Even if Leszek Moczulski did enter the Sejm, I do not think the Sejm would earn much support for its policies, whatever its composition.

I am often asked what the difference is between the constructive and non-constructive opposition. In fact, it is difficult to answer, because the division between the two is a question of political practice, and this division is made in political practice. Slogans like "down with the communists" and excessive behavior in the street certainly do not come from the constructive opposition, and I hope our "roundtable" partners will agree.

Marcin Gogulski, "Solidarity" press: In connection with the beating of Mrs Indykowna in January, you told us that witnesses had seen a man in military uniform. Did they say what the color of his coat was? I am asking because the winter coats of soldiers and militiamen are identical in style; the only difference is the color.

Z. Rykowski: I suppose that when the witnesses talked about a military coat, they meant a green one.

Marcin Gogulski: Another question. Last week, Deputy Minister Wojtczak, discussing a law of 27 April 1956 in the Sejm, described abortions, the killing of unborn children, as "evil, but a necessary evil." Is this expression "necessary evil" some kind of new legal term, or was it just an unfortunate slip of the tongue? Will government representatives avoid expressions like this in future?

Z. Rykowski: I think there is some confusion here. You know very well what is meant. I have said it often enough, but I will repeat it nonetheless. Abortion is a reprehensible, tragic social phenomenon. Nevertheless, it cannot be avoided, because it is the practice in many countries, and criminal sanctions may merely cause worse effects. That is what Deputy Minister Wojtczak meant.

Wang Jingchen, XINHUA: Could you comment on Mikhail Gorbachev's current visit to China?

Z. Rykowski: I can, and with pleasure, because Poland is very interested in the development of international relations in a spirit of cooperation and peace. We note with satisfaction the good relations between these two countries after years of misunderstandings. These new relations are no doubt connected with the new political line in the Soviet Union and political line in China.

Poland welcomes anything that encourages world cooperation, peace, and stabilization.

John Daniszewski, AP: Have there been any new developments on President Bush's visit to Poland? Could you give us a precise date? Could you also tell us something about the possible visit to Poland by Chancellor Kohl and about what foreign visitors are expected in connection with the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II?

Z. Rykowski: Polish and American diplomats are still holding consultations on the President Bush visit. Concerning a visit by Chancellor Kohl, I would like to repeat that the visit will take place when our relations take on enough substance to make such a visit productive.

As for other visits, I suggest that you put that question to the Foreign Ministry press spokesman.

Aleksandra Jakubowska, Television News: Do you share the view that the 1956 law that was mentioned does not force women to terminate pregnancies, and if a woman does not want to terminate a pregnancy for religious or ethical reasons she does not have to and no one forces her to do so? I would also like to ask whether the Education Ministry will finally publish the "Preparing for Family Life" textbook in another form and whether schools will finally have textbooks for the subject that is being taught in them?

Z. Rykowski: My view is that the 1956 law is a law that guarantees individual freedom. I repeat that the issue that we are talking about pertains to moral imperatives and norms and not to legal norms. I also repeat that the struggle against the negative phenomenon of pregnancy termination and combatting it should be based on education and the creation of conditions preventing unwanted pregnancies.

I hope that the Education Ministry will rapidly prepare and publish a textbook, or perhaps several textbooks, so that there is a choice.

Tomasz Arlet, PAP: Could you give us some details about this new law, the draft amnesty law? At the moment all we have is a communique, and perhaps we could be given a few more details.

Z. Rykowski: The law, the draft law, has been submitted to the Sejm. It is an amnesty law allowing for misdemeanors, including fiscal ones, committed for political reasons or in connection with strikes, protest actions, and plant military discipline regulations after 31 August 1980 to be forgiven and forgotten.

The law also pardons misdemeanors committed during action to counteract strikes, protest actions, or other violations of security and public order for political reasons. It envisages that sentences passed for such misdemeanors, which have not been carried out or have only been partially implemented, will be quashed. This also applies to fines and legal costs. Sentences for these misdemeanors would be quashed and removed from records.

The persons involved will be able to appeal against decisions reached under the law concerning the application of the amnesty. I stress that the amnesty law will also include misdemeanors, including fiscal ones, committed after 31 August 1980 for political reasons or during strikes and protest action.

Jerzy Gonczarski, EXPRESS WIECZORNY: I would like to have the following matter clarified: There have been two questions about it already. The Public Opinion Research Center is a government agency. Are you unaware of the fact that the center is conducting research into voters' intentions, or do you simply not know what the research entails?

Z. Rykowski: I said I do not know anything about this research.

Konstanty Gebert, "Solidarity" press: When you say that you would not like Leszek Moczulski to enter the Sejm, are you speaking for yourself, or on behalf of the government? If you are speaking on behalf of the government, how would you reconcile that with what you said earlier about the government not being involved in the election?

Z. Rykowski: I think I made it quite clear that a government official can hold his own views.

Konstanty Gebert: Can you say whether or not the amnesty law that is presently being considered will apply to Father Popieluszko's murderers?

Z. Rykowski: The amnesty law applies to misdemeanors. A misdemeanor is an offense punishable by up to 3 years' imprisonment.

John Daniszewski, AP: As far as the amnesty law is concerned, some opposition circles think that people dismissed from their employment need not expect reinstatement, except for members of the authorities. What do you think?

Z. Rykowski: As far as these cases are concerned, they will be covered by a separate law, the draft of which we shall also place before the Sejm.

However, to answer the question of who qualifies under the amnesty law, I can say that such a law is a normal formula used throughout the world.

Piotr Wilczynski, DPA: I also have a question about this amnesty law. Cars used to commit a crime were confiscated in the past. Will these cars be returned in accordance with the provisions of the planned law?

Z. Rykowski: We will check. I am very sorry, but it is difficult to answer this question right now.

Andrzej Dryszel, KURIER POLSKI: I have a question about Minister Urban's electoral declaration, if that is what you can call it. Some people claim Urban placed it in the press as a paid advertisement, others claim that someone else paid for it, and still others claim that he is receiving royalties for it. Could you explain?

Z. Rykowski: I do not think you have been reading reports on my news conferences.

Perhaps I will say a few words in conclusion. I wanted to say, and I am speaking on my own behalf, that I am worried by the fact that the opposition is stirring up the election campaign. I am disturbed to see aggressive propaganda and election leaflets that conflict with the "roundtable" decisions.

It seems to me that episodes like this can ruin the political climate. They do not serve to implement the "roundtable" decisions, and lead to unnecessary political tension that is of no use to anyone in the present situation. They lead to a bipolarity that is a negation of pluralism.

They make some observers of our political scene conclude that we are heading toward a repetition of a lesson we have already learned. I hope the election campaign will develop according to the path established at the "roundtable," a path leading to parliamentary democracy.

Piotr Wilczynski, DPA: Is that you own personal view, or the government's?

Z. Rykowski: It is my personal view, which I would like to share with you.

Piotr Wilczynski: Has the government made any remarks like this to "Solidarity"?

Z. Rykowski: I think a meeting of the liaison committee is due to be held soon.

European Parliament Member Attacked by Police

AU1905140289 Paris AFP in English
1327 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Brussels, May 19 (AFP)—A Belgian member of the European Parliament was attacked and robbed by Romanian police while in the Transylvania town of Cluz, in northwest Romania, his party said here Friday.

The Belgian Christian-Socialist Party said its president Gerard Deprez, 46, was attacked outside the home of Romanian dissident Doina Cornea in Cluz.

Daily on 'Nightmare' of 'Denuclearization'

AU1705144989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
13 May 89 p 6

[Romulus Caplescu article: "Who is Afraid of Denuclearization or the Implications of the Interatlantic Crisis"]

[Excerpts] While a tremendous majority of the people on earth and all progressive minds on our planet rise to defend the supreme right to life and peace for each human being, in the belief—with good reason—that there cannot be a more pressing requirement than eliminating nuclear weapons, primarily from Europe where the largest part of such weapons is concentrated, the prospect of denuclearization is a downright nightmare for those who are captivated by such military doctrines as nuclear deterrence. It is more than paradoxical, it is a situation verging outright on the absurd, that illustrates where such a way of thinking can lead according to which the preservation of the most terrifying weapons ever known to history would be the only genuine guarantee for peace.

In his speech delivered yesterday [12 May] at the big mass rally in Drobeta-Turnu Severin Municipality, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, recalling some steps taken toward diminishing the nuclear threat, that is the conclusion of the Soviet-American accord on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles—which represent, however, a very small percentage of the total of nuclear weapons since huge stocks will continue to exist, thus being capable to destroy all humanity several times over—justifiably emphasized that after these initial steps things were expected to make headway. "Unfortunately," the speaker said, "it seems that some people, afraid of the prospect of disarmament, of the losses of profits from an armament policy, and of the possibilities offered by a policy of nuclear blackmail and of force and dictate, have actually begun to back out."

As is known, everything started from the West German Government position that favors a postponement of the planned modernization of short-range or tactical missiles deployed in the FRG, and that accepts the proposal of the Warsaw Pact member countries to immediately organize negotiations on reducing all tactical missiles deployed in Europe to ever lower parity levels up to their complete elimination. [passage omitted]

In their position, the authorities in Bonn certainly were bearing in mind the prevailing public opinion trend in the country, which is constantly on the increase. [passage omitted]

At this point, numerous military people in the Bundeswehr leadership are convinced that the weapons deployed in Europe have become void of significance from a military viewpoint, namely that they would not be able to guarantee a final victory for either side should there be a conflict, while for the civilian population they obviously pose a tremendous threat. [passage omitted]

Regardless of their motives, the decision made by Bonn has greatly alarmed Washington and London, which have categorically rejected any negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, and the possibility of denuclearizing the European Continent. There have been warnings that the denuclearization of the continent would be "a disaster" for the Atlantic pact, that "no one should assume the right to adopt unilateral decisions that affect NATO's nuclear strategy," that the "triple zero option" would be a trap, and that the idea of negotiations on tactical missiles "should not be accepted by any means." [passage omitted]

People are more and more aware of the baneful nature of the reactionary mentalities, which bank on the nuclear factor by ignoring the elementary truth that, far from strengthening security, weapons of any kind, but primarily nuclear weapons to which the nostalgists of the bloc policy cling, undermine security to the greatest extent. The latest interatlantic developments prove, above all, the anachronistic nature of military blocs, which are a direct result of such a mentality, they are vestiges of the cold war, and thus are inevitably doomed to failure.

Japanese Businessmen Give News Conference

AU1705171989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1519 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/5/1989—On Wednesday morning, the delegation of Japanese businessmen attending the proceedings of the eleventh session of the Joint Romania-Japan Economic Committee, under way in Bucharest, met representatives of the Romanian press and of the Romanian radio and television.

In his statement on the occasion Zenji Umeda, chairman for Japan of the Joint Economic Committee, expressed deep satisfaction, on behalf of the entire delegation, for their interview with President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania. On the occasion, the speaker said, we learned about the vast programmes for the updating of the Romanian economy, about its development prospects until 1995 and beyond, to the 2000s. In that framework, special attention was paid to the further rise in the economic exchanges between the two countries.

We noted with interest Romania's stance, expressed by the most authorized voice, that of the country's president, on the growth of commercial exchanges. We thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for his assessment to the effect that there are possibilities to take bilateral economic relations onto a higher level. Naturally, to this end, additional, greater efforts are necessary on both sides, efforts made in the belief that we can attain that target. Besides direct trade, commercial relations between Romania and Japan, the speaker said, we should concentrate on business on third markets.

Answering journalists' questions, the speaker also showed: Not only we businessmen but also politicians in Japan, the average man and the people of Japan are highly appreciative of the Romanian people's efforts and perseverence in having repaid the foreign debt. Which, undoubtedly, goes down as a major accomplishment, creating more favourable conditions for the growth and diversification of economic exchanges between the two countries.

The chairman for Japan of the Joint Economic Committee, as well as other members of the delegation pointed out that circumstances were favourable for the expansion of exports of Romanian products to Japan, more particularly in conditions in which Romania's industry undergoes a major process of modernization. Reference was made to the quality of a number of Romanian products, which accords with world standards. Furthermore, fine impressions were expressed of the powerful urban development of the Romanian capital city.

Committee Ends Session

AU1705172189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1553 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/5/1989—The proceedings of the eleventh session of the Joint Romania-Japan Economic Committee concluded in Bucharest on Wednesday, May 17.

New ways and modalities of expanding and diversifying bilateral commercial relations on mutually advantageous terms, of deepening industrial, technical and scientific cooperation between Romanian enterprises and Japanese companies in areas of mutual interest and of expanding the Romanian-Japanese cooperation in third markets were analysed.

At the end of the proceedings, the two co-chairmen of the commission signed the protocol of the session.

The signing ceremony was attended by Katsuhiro Ochioka, Japan's ambassador in Bucharest.

The members of the Japanese delegation had interviews with Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Ion Patan, minister of finance. They also saw round social units and urban facilities in the Romanian capital city.

On the occasion of the session of the Joint Romania-Japan Economic Committee Japan's ambassador in Bucharest gave a reception.

Manescu Receives Businessmen

AU1705172289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1646 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/5/1989—Wednesday, May 17, Manea Manescu, vice-chairman of Romania's State Council, received Zenji Umeda, president, and Shoichi Tanaka, vice-president for Japan in the Romania-Japan Joint Economic Committee, which proceeded in Bucharest.

During the interview the sides looked into certain concrete aspects posed by the further development of the Romanian-Japanese economic relations in various sectors of mutual interest.

Giosan Meets Suharto, Others in Indonesia

AU1805191189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Jakarta AGERPRES, 18/5/1989—President Suharto of Indonesia received a Romanian parliamentary delegation, led by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, who are paying a visit to Indonesia upon an invitation extended by that country's parliament. On the occasion, the Indonesian head of state and Mrs Tier Suharto were conveyed a warm message of salute and the best wishes of good health and personal happiness, of progress and prosperity for the friendly Indonesian people on behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and of Mrs Elena Ceausescu.

Expressing warm thanks for the message, President Suharto requested that President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu be conveyed the most sincere wishes of good health and happiness, of welfare and progress for the friendly Romanian people, on behalf of Mrs Tier Suharto and on his own behalf.

During the talk conducted on the occasion emphasis was placed on the meetings and understandings reached with the Romanian president, which laid a solid foundation for and opened broad prospects to the development of the links of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples.

The Indonesian president sincerely congratulated the Romanian people on its results in the economic and social development of the country, on Romania's special success in repaying its foreign debt.

Aspects of the international life were approached and high appreciation was expressed for the foreign policy promoted by Romania, for President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives for the peaceful settlement of differences and states of conflicts among states, for the establishment of a climate of peace, understanding and cooperation through the world. Emphasis was placed on the contribution parliaments and parliamentarians could and had to make to the resolution of the major issues facing mankind.

During their visit to Indonesia, the Romanian parliamentary delegation had interviews with the speaker of the House of Representatives, Haris Suhud, with other representatives of the leadership of the Indonesian parliament, with B. Murdani, foreign minister, Arifin Siregar, minister of trade, Wardoyo, minister of agriculture, and other personalities of the political and economic life of that country.

Internal Affairs Lifts 2-Month Curfew in Kosovo

LD2105091889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0841 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Pristina, 21 May (TANJUG)—The provincial secretary for Internal Affairs of Kosovo today issued an order, on the basis of the decision of the provincial executive council, to lift the curfew in this province. The order will come into force tomorrow, 22 May. This order lifts the ban on the movement of people from 2230 to 0500, which was imposed 2 months ago after the demonstrations and riots of Albanian nationalists and separatists.

In an announcement by the provincial committee for information, citizens were reminded that the ban on the movement of larger groups of people for the purpose of demonstrating or protesting in public places remains in force, as well as the ban on the access to the territory of Kosovo to persons or groups for the purpose of gathering, i.e. demonstrating or protesting.

SAWPY Delegation Meets Pristina Leadership

LD1905185289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Pristina, 19 May (TANJUG)—If we do not stabilize the situation in Kosovo now we will lose every opportunity and trust in the eyes of Yugoslavia, and future generations will be fully justified in telling us that we betrayed Yugoslavia and socialism. We have the essential prerequisites for the beginning of permanent stabilization: the attitude in Yugoslavia to problems in the province is changing, the renewed Kosovo leaderships are united both in their assessments and in their measures, ideological differentiation has started in the right manner, and for the first time after many years unity was achieved within the Serbian leadership as a condition for building unity among the people.

This was stated by Dr Bozidar Colakovic, president of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] Federal Conference Presidium, in conversation with the leadership of the Socialist Alliance and other organizations in the Pristina municipality. The meeting was attended by Jelena Milojevic, member of the Presidium and candidate for the president of the front organization.

Colakovic's and Milojevic's visit to Pristina was organized within the framework of the visit by SAWPY Federal Conference delegation which included Secretary Josip Hrvatin as well as top people from the republican and the Vojvodina provincial conferences who toured several municipalities in Kosovo.

The top officials in the Pristina municipality—Enver Selimi, Zivojin Mitrovic, Sadri Godanci and others—briefed Dr Colakovic and Jelena Milojevic on the activities underway to stabilize the circumstances which have arisen since the latest brutal counterrevolutionary attack by Albanian nationalists and separatists. Special emphasis was laid on the atmosphere and problems which result in the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins with unchanged intensity, and on economic and social problems, but also on the initial concrete results in the ideological differentiation involving the exponents of the wrongly conducted policy.

It was stressed that several programs are being implemented in the organizations of associated labor, especially of Serbia, in the Pristina municipality, to ensure the employment of people and thus create conditions to stop emigration and bring about the return of those who have left.

Stressing that the situation in the Pristina municipality best reflects the situation in the whole of the province Dr Bozidar Colakovic noted that the attitude towards Kosovo has been changing lately, that a tone of trust is being established which has not existed since 1981 and that this should be particularly appreciated. However, he expressed concern, due to both the economic crisis and even more so to problems in Kosovo, about the fact that the position of Yugoslavia in the world has never been as bad in its entire socialist history. This is the result of numerous lies about Kosovo which we have not been countering. The world hears various pieces of misinformation about Kosovo: that there is hardly any counterrevolution or emigration here, that Kosovo has been "turned in to a concentration camp," that the Serbian Constitution was passed in order to jeopardize the rights of Albanians and even that it is the Albanians and not the Serbs of Montenegrins who were allegedly threatened.

Some of our information media and different views on Kosovo in some sectors also contributed to this, said Colakovic.

Colakovic indicated that the main task of socialist forces and organs in Kosovo is to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. Unless the emigration is halted and a more substantial return of the emigrated Serbs and Montenegrins begins there will be no success, he said and added that the realization of the Yugoslav program which has a political as well as an economic dimension, is slow. We have recently agreed that the SAWPY Federal Conference should coordinate the implementation of this program. We will make specific assessments about who is fulfilling his duties and who is not and also assess to what extent is Kosovo prepared to implement the program. We cannot allow the Yugoslav program on Kosovo to become "Serbian" and we cannot allow such statements as the ones about Serbia "imposing its views over constitutional matters; let Serbia solve the Kosovo problem." We are on the threshold of an ethnically pure Kosovo. We should be aware of the fact, said Dr Bozidar Colakovic, that if any population in the world falls below 6 percent it has no desire to live in this territory.

In the current very difficult economic situation, Kosovo can do little to ensure conditions for the return (of Serbs and Montenegrins), but Kosovo's political powers are not small. If we ask for economic help, then it would be too much to ask for political help too, Colakovic said and went on to advocate the adoption of a legal basis for the return and the abolition of the law which forbids the return of Serbs and Montenegrins expelled during World War II. Colakovic noted that cadre aid to Kosovo cannot be based on economic benefits which people living in Kosovo do not have. Commercialization of the return will not help, because it is obvious who would be interested in returning. I am convinced that there are people who would return to Kosovo out of patriotism.

Reviewing the problem of birthrate, the president of the SAWPY Federal Conference noted that science says everything that needs to be said on the subject and that there are no unknown areas regarding it. If the present high birthrate continues, then the eocnomic progress of Kosovo will be blocked. We should convince the Albanian nationality that reducing the birthrate is in its interest, and in the interests of the future of its children. If Kosovo can help itself in any area, it can do so in implementing demographic reform. Most prominent Albanians should lead the demographic revolution. It cannot be left only to the conference for the social activity of women or to individual institutions, but it must become the broadest movement of all progressive people and all organizations and institutions of the system, Colakovic said.

Reviewing the introduction of the extraordinary measures, Dr Colakovic stressed that they are necessary and that they will be lifted when the provincial institutions can ensure permanent peace and security for everyone in Kosovo. Further he stressed that we should not be rash about lifting the measures, as was the case after the 1981 counterrevolution. The time that they are in force must be used to carry out political work en masse to win over the Albanian masses and to transplant the unity created among leadership to the rank and file. Part of this task is to carry this differentiation which started at the top down through all levels of the local community.

Dr Bozidar Colakovic noted that some republics took the wrong attitude toward Kosovo, and that this causes a lot of damage. We should be grateful for 'the help' which even now some officials offer and ask people not to hinder the process which has started by their tactless and sarcastic statements and misinterpretations. We will not allow anyone from other sectors to use Kosovo to bicker and crystallize their problems.

The current Kosovo leadership procured with its united, correct and timely assessment of the situation the right to dialogue on an equal footing with everyone visiting the province, Bozidar Colakovic, president of the SAWPY Presidency, said.

Afterwards, Bozidar Colakovic and Jelena Milojevic visited a Jumko factory which is being built in Kosovo Polje.

Kosovo LC Conference Scheduled for November

AU2005163889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13-14 May 89 p 11

[M. Antic and R. Barjaktarevic report: "Conference in November"]

[Excerpt] Pristina 12 May—The 15th Conference of the League of Communists [LC] of Kosovo will be held in November of this year. The precise date will be determined by the provincial committee at one of its future sessions, at least 2 months before the conference.

At this conference, which will be held 4 months earlier, the main topic will be "The Kosovo LC in the Struggle for the Stabilization of the Political Situation in the Province, and for the Social Reform and the Democratic Transformation of the LC."

In order to carry out timely and proper preparations for the 15th Conference of the Kosovo LC, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee today elected four commissions: a commission for the preparation of a report on the work of the provincial committee between two conferences; a commission for the preparation of resolutions; a commission for the transformation of the LC and statutory questions; and a commission for organizational-technical preparations.

At the session today, the provincial committee unanimously adopted a decision concerning elections in the basic LC organizations which will be held between 15 May and 15 July, while the communal elections will be held until 15 October. At the same time the members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee adopted the tasks of the basic LC organizations and organs on conducting elections within the Kosovo LC. Iljaz Ramajljija, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, made the opening speech on this topic.

Having unanimously adopted a decision that at the 15th conference one delegate—elected by a secret ballot out of several candidates—will represent 500 members, the provincial committee adopted a number of other decisions concerning the number, structure, and election of delegates for the 14th LCY Congress from Kosovo. The highest party gathering will be attended by 94 delegates from the province. Out of these, 54 will be elected by the communal conferences, and 40 by the 15th conference of the Kosovo LC.

At today's session, the provincial committee presented to its members a number of interesting proposals. One of them is that the future committee should consist of 55 instead of the present 90 members, and that the Presidium of the provincial committee should consist of 9 instead of the present 13 members. [passage omitted]

'Prejudging' Verdict in Vlasi Trial Censured

AU2105190189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 May 89 p 1

[Bojana Oprijan commentary: "Facts and Assumptions"]

[Text] Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrasi, and Burhan Karvaja were arrested on 1 March under the suspicion of having committed the criminal act of endangering the social system in a counterrevolutionary way. The results of the investigation of their guilt (or innocence) will be presented by the investigative judge, and only a court can give the verdict and measure out and pronounce the sentence, provided, of course, that there will be a trial at all, since a valid decision about that (the investigation is still underway) has still not been made.

"The arrest of the organizers of the February strike in the province, who included Azem Vlasi and Ekrem Arifi, members of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, as well as several directors of work organizations, shows that the uprooting of the counterrevolution has begun," the highest officials of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia assessed at a recent press conference held on the occasion of Security Day.

In judicial jargon throughout the world, making predictions and assertions about participants in future and (still not) opened trials is called prejudging the verdict. Thus, for instance, laws in the juridical systems guided by precedent forbid judges and members of the jury to read newspaper reports on the issue in question so that they will not be prejudiced and so that the impartiality of those meting out justice will not be jeopardized. Furthermore, some countries forbid the publication of the names of the accused until a valid sentence is passed.

This is understandable because in a law-governed state the courts work independently and do not need any prompting from "aside." To make a decision in Vlasi's case, at least according to the letter of the law, it is sufficient to establish whether there was an attempt to commit an act of counterrevolution. The court, of course, will establish that. Whatever the verdict, if it is reached with disregard to the prescribed procedure outside or inside the courtroom, stories about its partiality could easily start.

Therefore it is difficult to leave aside such (and other) condemnations that have been launched in the media even before the case has come to the court, particularly by those who are implied to know the essence of the legal procedures well. Therefore one should think twice about statements like "the arrest of the organizers of the February strikes" before they are put on the scales of justice.

Perhaps the assessments of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia will be shown to be correct. It is not our intention to judge on that. However, regardless of whether the word "organizers" is a fact or a supposition, it is not superfluous to recall the generally valid maxim that "nobody is guilty until proven to be so." The message is both legal and moral. The juridical organs and the security organs in particular should be acquainted with it.

Security Service on Kecmanovic Case, Kosovo

AU1905104689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 89 p 6

[TANJUG report: "We Have Nothing To Do With the 'Kecmanovic Case'"]

[Text] The State Security Service of Serbia has nothing to do with the case of Dr Nenad Kecmanovic and it did not take part in it in any way. However, the security bodies and services of this republic assess that the case of the Sarajevo University rector who was not destined to become a candidate for SFRY Presidency membership has opened many questions concerning the work, duties, and authority of the security service, questions which urgently demand answers.

This was what Dragutin Mitrovic, under secretary in the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs and head of the State Security Service of Serbia, said yesterday during the traditional press conference held on the occasion of Security Day, 13 May, commenting on Dr Stipe Suvar's statement that several security services had taken part in the Kecmanovic case.

Apart from Mitrovic, Predrag Todorovic, deputy republican secretary for internal affairs, and Bora Tomic, head of the republican Public Security Service, also spoke to the journalists about the work of the Serbian internal affairs and public and state security services. These officials pointed out that the services they are heading have lately been carrying out their duties under more difficult political and economic conditions, something which affected their work, particularly as concerns creating unified criteria for undertaking corresponding unified measures in the country. In their strivings to found their activities on the law and Constitution, these services were aided by the principled policy of the Serbian leadership and the stances of working people and citizens concerning problems in society, they pointed out.

The heads of the Serbian internal affairs and security services devoted special attention to constant attacks against and denigrations and denials of the results achieved by these services which, as they said, coincide in time and content with the attacks from the known anti-Yugoslav propaganda centers and actions by reactionary circles abroad. This constant negative publicity has created a bad attitude among the public in some of our communities toward security services and their members.

Commenting on the situation in Kosovo, Todorovic, Mitrovic, and Tomic pointed out that it has been calming down, but that there is still a latent danger from new unrest, and above all from diversions. Therefore, they think that the emergency measures of the SFRY Presidency should remain in force in order not to allow an incomplete solution to the problem to be found, as was the case in 1981. Of course, more unified views about Kosovo and the entire country are also a condition for more efficient actions.

Since the introduction of the emergency measures until the end of April, 336 people in the province have received warnings, 285 of whom had taken part in March demonstrations. The total of 1,700 participants in the demonstrations have been identified and 1,089 people have been detained: 277 of them have been released and 647 arrested [figures as published]. Over 800 people have been charged with a misdemeanor and sentenced to up to 60 days in prison.

Mitrovic pointed out that despite all of the activities, the number of physical attacks and threats against Serbs and Montenegrins is still on the increase: More than 100 physical assaults, threats, and acts causing damage to property, over 80 fires and 30 acts of destruction or sabotage, as well as dozens of cases of attacks against and resistance to security organs have been registered in March and April alone.

The services also possess facts, Mitrovic continued, that hostile Albanian emigres linked with Ustasha emigrees are preparing diversions, sabotage, and assassinations of prominent people in Kosovo and in the republic in general. A considerable amount of money has been obtained for such radical acts. Therefore, special attention has been devoted to cutting the channels for illegally smuggling arms into the country. Mitrovic pointed out that according to the data obtained by the Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs, apart from the 58,612 weapons which Kosovo citizens possess legally, 5,361 additional military weapons, most of which are foreign made (including submachine guns and light machine guns, for example), 1,446 hunting guns, 17,443 pieces of ammunition of various calibres, and 8,076 kg of explosive have been found and confiscated from 1981 until last April.

Officials of the Serbian internal affairs and security services offered assurances that the forthcoming important and big meetings, such as the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo Battle and the nonaligned summit in Belgrade, will be protected from possible attacks by hostile forces as much as possible.

Besic Says Security Service 'Warned' Kecmanovic

AU1905083689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 May 89 p 6

[M.S. report: "Dr Kecmanovic Was Warned About Foreign Intelligence Officers"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 May—In Bosnia-Hercegovina in the last 10 years, the security service has prevented 23 serious terrorist acts which would have caused a great number of human casualties and done unforeseeable harm to the republic's economy had they been carried out.

This was said today, among other things, by Muhamed Besic, republican secretary for internal affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in a press conference on the occasion of Security Day on 13 May. He also stressed that no matter how successful they had been in preventing terrorism, the ambitions of terrorists had not let up and this danger should not on any account be underestimated.

"At the moment, the service's biggest problem is the fact that proponents of national divisions have appeared on the scene in this crisis situation, which could do us the greatest harm. This is where most activity and responsibility by people in the state security service are engaged," said Besic.

As regards the "Kecmanovic case," Besic rejected any insinuation that this involved a political-police set-up [montaza]. Dr Nenad Kecmanovic had several meetings and contacts with foreign citizens and diplomats but this was not in the security service's field of interest. The case involves his contacts with three foreign intelligence officers, about whom Kecmanovic had been warned.

Bosnian Alliance Discusses Kecmanovic Case

AU2005163489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Apr 89

[Text] The delegates of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina are discussing an analysis of the activities for the election of the SFRY Presidency member from this republic. Milomir Nikolic reports from Sarajevo:

[Nikolic] In the discussion at the session today, various opinions were heard, and new facts were presented. Edina Residovic announced that the State Security Service in the republic presented 34 reports on Dr Nenad Kecmanovic from 1982 to 1987, the reports being submitted to individual people. Most of them, 32 in number, were received by Branko Mikulic, followed by Savo Cecur, Milanko Renovica, and Hamdija Pozderac. The top people of the Socialist Alliance, the Youth Federation, the Veterans Federation, and the trade unions did not receive a single report on Kecmanovic. The Service ceased to submit such reports after February 1987.

The shorthand notes of the closed session of the Republican Conference of 6 April 1989 were released. At that session, Edina Residovic informed the delegates about talks with Kecmanovic. After facts and reports by the State Security Service had been put to him, Kecmanovic said that he had had contacts with foreign persons and had behaved openly, without sufficient caution. He said

that he withdrew his nomination and that he did not want to contribute to the creation of an affair. At that session, Nenad Kecmanovic confirmed Edina Residovic's statement.

Muhamed Besic, republican secretary for internal affairs, answering a question of whether a criminal act (?was committed), said Kecmanovic's (?interview a few hours later) reinforced the operative reports by the State Security Service. Besic believes that the affair was created by politicking games against Bosnia-Hercegovina and that some information media have damaged the security of the state.

To the question of whether Nenad Kecmanovic should be on the list of candidates for SFRY Presidency member, delegates gave different replies. (Nizneta Arnautovic) believed he could not, and remarked that one should have reacted earlier. Abdulah Mutapcic expressed the position of the republican Central Committee that Kecmanovic should not be on the list. Miro Kaljan, (Mirjana Plasic), and Jovo Nikolic expressed the opposite opinion.

Some people want Bosnia-Hercegovina, to sink into affairs, Mutapcic said. Boro Vukobrat expressed his fear about the further course of the election procedure.

Darinka Zec expected more facts in the reports of the two commissions. Smilja (Burkovic) asked Muhamed Besic how he could have said that the reports on Kecmanovic originated from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs when it is clearly seen in the report on the Commission of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly that the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs was the chief actor in the Kecmanovic case.

(Mirjana Plasic) asked why Nenad Kecmanovic was not present when he was the subject of the discussion, and Nedja Sipovac considered it a new fact that Branko Mikulic was receiving State Security Service reports on Kecmanovic even after he left Bosnia-Hercegovina [for a federal post]. He agreed with Muhamed Besic that such reports should in future be sent to organs and not to individuals.

The session in Sarajevo continues.

Rejects Kecmanovic as Candidate

AU2005211289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 May 89

[Milomir Nikolic report from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] The delegates of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina discussed the Kecmanovic case from more than 7 hours. Although opinions were expressed that the reports of the two commissions controlling the work of the State Security were incomplete, it was assessed that they contain sufficient elements to confirm that [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Muhamed Berberovic reported on the course of his talks with Kecmanovic last month, and Muhamed Besic presented an assessment of his activities. Berberovic pointed out that Kecmanovic had accepted (?the facts and) withdrawn his nomination, and had said that he would not contribute to the creation of the affair. Besic repeated the data on Kecmanovic's contacts with foreign intelligence agents, stressing that therefore Kecmanovic is unsuitable as a member of the collective head of state.

The stances adopted today point that Nenad Kecmanovic cannot be a candidate for the SFRY Presidency member because he does not meet the criteria that demand that a candidate for this office should display a high security culture and that he should be a personality who will with his overall work and conduct, link and unite all the social subjects and people.

The registration of nominations for the SFRY Presidency member from Bosnia-Hercegovina will be carried out by the end of this month. The list of candidates will be adopted on 14 June, and the citizens will express their opinion in a referendum on 29 and 30 June, and the final election will be carried in the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina by the middle of July.

Mosevac Residents Present Demands to Assembly

LD2005174589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 20 May 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 20 May (TANJUG)—A group of 68 residents of Mosevac went to the SFRY Assembly this afternoon, where they were received by President Slobodan Gligorijevic. The group presented several demands to the president which were addressed to federal institutions. The residents of Mosevac are calling for the urgent release of Hasan Delic, arrested a week ago in Maglaj, an inquiry into the beating up of people in Maglaj on 13 May without previous warning or any demand, and finally, the resignation of Muhabed Besic, secretary of the Bosnia-Hercegocina Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Although the group insisted that they would not desperse until their demands are met, they agreed to return to Mosevac this evening after Gligorijevic promised to organize a meeting with a member of the SFRY Presidency on Monday.

Electricity Prices To Increase Over 60 Percent

LD1905120989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0628 GMT 19 May 89

[Summary] Sarajavo, 19 May (TANJUG)—From 22 May the price of electricity in Bosnia-Hercegovina will increase by 60.56 percent.

Kucan Says 'No Democracy Without Pluralism'

AU1905142389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 89 p 4

[D.D. report: "Pluralism Is a Necessity"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 May—Does the leadership of the League of Communists accommodate the aspirations of the political alternative scene too much? New political organizations are arising which, in a multinational community, could mean the disintegration of Yugoslavia—asked and stated one of those present at a meeting with Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovene League of Communists, in Koper.

Kucan replied that "circumstances had the effect that consideration of political pluralism was becoming a necessity. In my opinion there is no democracy without pluralism, but this does not mean that it must be a multiparty pluralism. Even without this, a pluralism of ideas can be introduced, even though we are witnessing the thinking that this is possible only if it facilitates several parties."

Criticism and a break with old concepts is necessary. A socialism should be advocated that we will construct on the scientific achievements of a modern society. It is necessary to restore people's trust in the system, but this is not possible if the authorities do not have any trust in the people, thought Kucan.

In Kucan's opinion, it is necessary to open up to the world, and in this connection he asked a hypothetical question: What would happen if all the doors of the European associations were suddenly opened for economic cooperation? We would probably not be able to enter these associations at all. As examples, he cited an analysis of two Gorenje work organizations in which one analyzed how much success they would have on the West European market if they did business according to West European laws. They would be bankrupt in 3 months, was the conclusion.

'Major Dispute' Among Slovene Social Democrats

AU1905185389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] A major dispute has broken out in the leadership of the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia. The top people of this organization resent their leader Tomsic privatizing the alliance and his immoderate and completely misplaced statements. They have very sharply criticized Tomsic's speech at the recent meeting in Ljubljana. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

[Atanasijevic] The situation in the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia is very critical. The organization resembles a sinking ship. Many top people have abandoned ship in protest against their captain Tomsic, asserting that he torpedoed his own ship.

Dr Rastko Mocnik, prorector of University of Ljubljana, told us that after Tomsic's speech at the May meeting in Ljubljana he does not want anything to do with the Social Democrats. He called the leader of this alternative organization with party ambitions an ambitious, as well as incapable and immoderate (?man), who made umpteen major and unpardonable mistakes in a short time. The scientist surmised that the Social Democratic Alliance will be the first Slovene alternative organization in danger of a total split.

The top people of the Social Democratic Alliance blame their leader among other things for making unfounded statements to foreign journalists. One knows his statements that the League of Communists is common mafia, and his allegations that he is followed and spied upon by internal affairs organs.

The leading people who have remained in the alliance very sharply criticize Tomsic for attacking the Yugoslav People's Army at the May meeting in Ljubljana, and for manifesting extreme nationalism and separatism. In this way, they say, he inflicted a defeating blow to his own organization. Considering that a privatization of the Social Democratic Alliance was impermissible, the officials who stayed in their offices have announced that a closed session will be held on Monday. It is expected that on that occasion they will settle accounts with their incapable and immoderate leader, who has not respected the program guidelines of his own organization.

Slovene Presidium Rejects May 1989 Declaration

AU2005135389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "May Declaration Rejected"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 May—The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia at its session today, which was also attended by the Slovene members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, discussed the preparations for the 23d session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The session will discuss the situation in Kosovo and the tasks of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Also discussed was the course of the preparations for the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia which will be held in December.

While discussing the constitutional amendments and the beginning of the preparations for the new constitution, the Presidium assessed the drafting of the text of the 1989 Slovene Declaration in the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia. The third draft of this declaration was published in DELO on 10 May. It was said that this draft contains an understanding of society shared by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia. Above all it contains the possibility of the further socialist development of Slovenia within the SFRY. The Presidium was of the opinion that

the 1989 May Declaration, published independently by five of the groups participating in drafting the 1989 Slovene Declaration, was written on the basis of different political starting points and it therefore rejects it. This has been announced by the Information Center of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

Slovenes Announce Launching News Agency, Paper

AU1905154489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] The Press Council of the (?Republican Conference) of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia has supported a suggestion to set up an independent news agency, to organize a Slovene press center, and to publish a political information organ in Serbo-Croatian.

Other proposals were heard on how to eliminate shortcomings in the public communications field. These will be discussed at the next session of the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia.

Macedonian LC Leader Declines State Presidency

LD1905142489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Skopje, 19 May (TANJUG)—Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, today sent a letter to the Presidium of the Macedonian SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] Republican Conference asking to be exempted from the electoral procedure for the election of member of the SFRY Presidency from Macedonia.

In his letter Lazaroski stresses that he decided on this step for principled reasons, because he participated in the previous electoral procedure until the very end. [sentence as received]

I take this opportunity to express gratitude to working people and citizens in the Macedonian Trade Union organizations and the local communities of the Macedonian SAWP for their vote of confidence both in this and in the previous electoral procedure.

I also thank the members and delegates of the republican nominating conference of the Macedonian SAWP and the delegates of the Macedonian Assembly for their vote of confidence in the previous electoral procedure, Lazaroski states in his letter.

Macedonian Paper Commentary on Party Plenum

AU2005151489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 20 May 89

["NOVA MAKEDONIJA: Dangerous Party Division"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Skopje, 20 May (TANJUG)—The latest plenum has confirmed that even after 8 years and the March fury of Albanian nationalists, a time when it seemed that Yugoslavia had found a common language, there is still a deep ideopolitical division and completely different views of the Kosovo problem, NOVA MAKEDONIJA writes today.

The suspicions that individual speakers expressed about the emergency measures imposed in Kosovo at the time when they were most needed are unacceptable. For example, it is incomprehensible that members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Yugoslavia from Slovenia could fail to show sufficient understanding of the situation in the province which is extremely tense and for a long time been not only a problem for Kosovo or Serbia, but all Yugoslavia. Even, the paper writes, the speech that Milan Kucan, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia, made at the end of the debate on Kosovo was incomprehensible. It was more important to him to speak at this session about the situation in Slovenia, relations between Serbia and Slovenia, and the situation in Carinthia, than about problems in Kosovo. The lack of interest on the part of some Central Committee members who left the session before it ended is yet another story.

However, as long as the LC of Yugoslavia and other organs and organizations fail to have a unified stance and attitude toward Kosovo, Kosovo will continue to be an open wound in this society, NOVA MAKEDONIJA says, concluding its commentary.

Vojvodina LC Supports Trifunovic Election

LD1905150489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 19 May 89

[Summary] Novi Sad, 19 May (TANJUG)—The Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium and the municipal and city committees of Novi Sad unanimously supported the proposal to elect Bogdan Trifunovic president and Milomir Minic secretary of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, it is stated in today's communique from the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee.

Croatian Social Liberal Alliance Founded 20 May

AU2005203489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Zagreb, 20 May (TANJUG)—About 500 adherents participated in the work of the founding general meeting of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance [Hrvatski Socijalno Liberalni Savez] today.

This alliance, which from its very beginnings in the spring announced its intention eventually to grow into a political party, in its program declaration cites as the motive for its founding the assessment that we are "witnessing a world historical failure and complete exhaustion of the present ways of one-party rule over society." The document notes that as a way out of this situation in Yugoslavia "one offers a renovation of

monolithism and of dictatorships grounded in various ways." As Slavko Goldstein, one of the initiators of this alliance said in his opening speech, the alliance considers that "this country will turn either to freedoms or to a revitalization of monolithism. The Croatian Social Liberal Alliance decides for freedoms."

Goldstein thinks that concern for bare existence, for spiritual life, and for democratic freedoms is growing in modern Yugoslav society, and this is what stimulates the sprouting of various political initiatives. He further believes that the one-party monopoly has contributed to this situation to a great extent. Although the League of Communists announced its withdrawal from power for the first time 37 years ago, it has not yet accomplished it. The long-lasting monopoly of power, even written down in the Constitution, has produced many shortcomings, as Goldstein said. He asserted that the crisis would not be as deep as it is had a multi-party system existed in Yugoslavia.

Referring to the assertions uttered in public to the effect that party pluralism in our country means a danger of the worst kind of nationalism, Golstein said that the most extreme nationalism which threatens other nations is fostered precisely by the one-party power and that it exists most and in its worst forms precisely in states with one-party monopolies....

Goldstein especially spoke about the Yugoslav multinational community and stressed that the relations should be built on mutual understanding. The way of life in common should be reaffirmed on new understanding. Therefore the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance offers a program to Yugoslavia and wishes for understanding with all Yugoslav peoples.

Professor Zvonko Lerotic, ideologist of the alliance, presented to the gathering the ideological foundations of this organization: its basis is liberal democracy with the principles of freedom of thought, decisionmaking, and political activities, in which priority is given to the individual and not the party, the people, or the nation as a collective body.

The Zagreb gathering was attended and greeted by Dimitrij Rupel, representative of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, who considered that the newly formed alliance complements the Yugoslav political scene. Dane Zajc, president of the Human Right Protection Committee of Ljubljana, and Dr Branko Horvat representative of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative also attended and greeted the gathering. A letter of greetings was also read; it was sent by Dobrica Cosic on behalf of the Committee for the Protection of Human Thought and by Milovan Djilas personally.

In its scenario and some forms of expression, the discussion which lasted several hours could not depart from some similar gatherings organized and held in our country in the past decades. There was some booing and much more applause, especially when the question was posed whether the adjective "Croatian" should be put in the name of the alliance.

And finally, those taking part at the meeting did not fail to express their own views on some topical events in the country, especially concerning Kosovo. They particularly stressed the grave consequences of the activities of some Albanian intellectuals, or rather irredentists, who form secret so-called "Marxist-Leninist" parties. Criticism was also addressed to some Serbian intellectuals who spread suspicion against Europe...

The participants of the founding general meeting of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance were also welcomed by a representative of the Zagreb City Conference of the Socialist Alliance and a representative of the Italian radicals.

In conclusion, the meeting adopted a program declaration and the statute of the Alliance, and elected the first leadership. Professor Zvonimir Lerotic was elected president of the Executive Committee, and Slavko Goldstein president of the Alliance.

New Central Committee Members Elected

LD1805132489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2152 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 May (TANJUG)—New members of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee from the LC's of Croatia and Vojvodina and from the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army were elected this evening in a secret ballot.

There were five candidates from the Croatian LC for four vacant places. Marko Bradaric received 114 votes, Branko Caratan received 94, Borislav Mikelic received 108, and Milica Stanivukovic received 125. Djuro Tojagic received the fewest votes, 93, failing to be elected to the LCY Central Committee.

Vojvodina LC put forward three candidates for two vacant places. Ljubomir Medjesi, who received 104 votes, and Mitar Janjic, with 91 votes, were elected to the LCY Central Committee. Candidate Rajko Popovic who received the fewest votes, 67, failed to be elected.

Only one member was elected from the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. He is Nikola Cubra, who received 70 votes. The other candidate received 69 votes.

Markovic Receives Provincial, Republican Leaders

LD1905221189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 19 May 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 May (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], received in the Palace of the Federation today a delegation of the permanent conference of cities, which included the presidents of the capitals of all the republics and provinces. During the talks they briefed the FEC president on the work and tasks in their organizations, as

well as their activities in the development of major cities and the problems which acompany this development, the FEC Secretariat for Information stated. [passage omitted]

Special attention during the talks was devoted to the measures of a systemic character which are important for the implementation of reform in the sphere of housing and public services, for the financing of public activities, the introduction of a new tax system, a speedier development of small businesses, and finally for the protection and development of environment and greater social security of citizens.

The FEC president expressed full understanding for the specific problems and difficulties of major cities and drew attention to the substantial contribution which the permanent conference of cities could give for the resolution of these problems, as well as to its large cohesive role considering that it nurtures very good cooperation between major cities in which over 4.5 million Yugoslavs or about 20 percent of the entire country's population are living.

A great deal can be done to persuade major cities to accept and consolidate a reform orientation in the economic activity through full commitment on the part of all economic, scientific, and other potential in these cities, Markovic said. Having pointed out that everyone must carry out his tasks within the framework of his duties, and take his share of resonsibility for the realization of the economic reform, the FEC president stressed that the measures taken by the FEC, especially systemic measures, open up new prospects and possibilities for the development of social, public, and other activities in the cities and that the FEC is expecting from the permanent conference not just active cooperation but also to be the exponent of fresh ideas for the systemic solutions to those problems which are in the domain of the FEC.

The implementation of the economic reform, Ante Markovic included, does not mean that life in major cities will be just more expensive but also much richer, especially through the development of public services. [as received]

Economics Institute on Federal Executive Council

AU2005152089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 May p 3

[D. Draskovic report: "Markovic, Account for Yourself!"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 May—In the April review by the Economic Institute of the Ljubljana Law Faculty which is more popularly called the "Bajt Institute," it is stated that economic trends in the first quarter of this year are exceptionally unfavorable. A number of important mistakes which have been made or are being made by the proponents of economic policy are listed. It is cited that Markovic's government is not particularly interested in inflation, it is not getting involved in control of personal incomes, and a taxation policy is not being used to lower inflation.

Those in the institute have claimed that trade with foreign countries leveled out last year, thereby creating an opportunity for economic growth. Any increase of imports over exports could threaten our position and this was in fact happening in the first months of this year. The deficit in Yugoslav trade with the convertible currency area is falling and it is increasing in the clearing area. If we therefore continue to borrow and to reduce foreign currency reserves, this means that many serious problems will only be transfered to the future.

In the opinion of the representatives of the institute, personal incomes should be controlled. The proponents of the present economic policy are stressing loud and clear that anti-inflationary plans are superfluous. Moreover, because of the delay in taxation and monetary policy, prices rose by 29 percent per month in the first few months instead of by 20 percent. This means that the annual rate will increase from 800 to 2,000 percent!

It is also wrong to expect that work will be stimulated by increasing personal incomes and the prices of certain products will be reduced by increased supply and that all this will have the effect of reducing inflation. In our country successful enterprises immediately turn earnings into wages while in market economies, they increase accumulation. In these economies pay for equal work is levelled out on the labor market but that is impossible in our country because of the monopoly rights to jobs. So there is the situation whereby a bad worker in a good enterprise receives high wages and a good worker in a bad enterprise receives low wages! The former will not work better because he is guaranteed a job and the latter will not work better either, because there is no money to encourage him financially.

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